# SATURDAY

Volume 161 22nd February, 1936

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REVIEW

Price Sixpence Weekly

Edited by Lady Houston, D.B.E.

#### **Know All Ye Members of Parliament-**

That if my lips were unsealed—I could a tale unfold to rouse your indignation to fever heat—for I positively declare that THE SHAMEFUL NEGLECT BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE AN AIR DEFENCE FOR LONDON FOUR YEARS AGO—DID NOT JUST HAPPEN THROUGH IGNORANCE—BUT WAS A STUDIED AND DELIBERATE ACT TO TREACHEROUSLY JEOPARDISE THE SAFETY OF LONDON'S CITIZENS.

The Government cannot pretend that they did not know long before I did—the peril and danger of London's defencelessness in the Air—FOR IT WAS A MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT WHO TOLD ME ABOUT IT IN 1932—and asked me if I would make the offer (which I made) to provide 40 aeroplanes—he said this would cost £200,000—necessary for the Air Defence of London.

This is four years ago and during all these four vital years—when London could have been made safe from peril by air—I begged, implored, supplicated and entreated the Government to provide this Air Defence—and by offering to finance it—I LEFT THEM NO LOOPHOLE FOR NEGLECTING TO DO THIS.

BUT THEY HAVE STEADILY AND STUBBORNLY REFUSED TO DO ANYTHING and NOW in 1936—LONDON IS IN GREATER DEADLY PERIL OF AN AIR INVASION THAN EVER BEFORE, AND LONDON AND HER INHABITANTS COULD IN A FEW HOURS BE WIPED OUT BY ENEMY BOMBS.

LUCY HOUSTON.

#### The Exposure

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN commands the deep respect of the House of Commons, and of the British people. Again and again he has proved his loyalty both to his country, and to the present Prime Minister.

Yet Sir Austen felt it his duty to say of Mr. Baldwin, in the House of Commons yesterday, that he had on two occasions, completely misled that House on issues of national defence.

The misgivings thus expressed by Sir Austen came as the climax to a debate which will cause the deepest concern throughout the country. His speech of warning was preceded by one of acute and informed criticism from Admiral Sir Murray Sueter.

There are unmistakable indications that the public has been aroused by these warnings to a full realisation of the deadly risks to which an inadequately armed Britain is exposed in a feverishly rearming world.

The British people will demand that the feebleness of purpose and confusion of mind which have brought us to this unhappy pass shall no longer be tolerated.

The nation has been the victim of a monstrous breach of confidence; it has been lulled into a false sense of

security by the blundering misstatements of its Prime Minister, whose shortcomings have now been clearly exposed, in no spirit of personal animosity, by one of his most faithful and honoured supporters.

Evening Standard.

Mr. J. L. GARVIN, in "The Observer," says—
"ALL THE SPARROWS IN EUROPE PIPED
FROM THE HOUSETOPS ABOUT THINGS OUR
NATIONAL CABINET DID NOT KNOW."

From the "Daily Mail"

OUR GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN WRONG AT EVERY POINT. They were wrong in imagining that Italy would be deterred by League threats from going to war. They were wrong in believing that the Nazi regime would speedily collapse. THEY WERE DANGEROUSLY WRONG ABOUT GERMAN REARMAMENT, GIVING ASSURANCES THAT GREAT BRITAIN HAD A 50 PER CENT. SUPERIORITY IN THE AIR WHEN IN REALITY SHE WAS ABYSMALLY INFERIOR.

They are ALWAYS wrong.

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. Reprinted from the "Daily Mail."

### **OUR ILLUSIONISTS**

A NOTHER illusion of our sanctionists has been dispelled by the report of the Geneva experts on the impracticability of the proposed ban upon the exports of oil to Italy and by the action of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

THE experts pronounce that the ban will not work without the support of the United States. The American Senate thereupon takes special care to prevent any such support by burying the American Neutrality Bill; and Mr. Cordell Hull, the American Secretary of State, announces that the United States will not co-operate in this matter.

THE fanatical devotees of the League should now understand the mischief they have caused by their reckless methods. Instead of pouring oil on the troubled waters of European relations, they have used it to kindle animosity in every country and have added to the general unrest.

THEY MIGHT HAVE KNOWN FROM THE FIRST WHAT WOULD HAPPEN. THERE WAS NEVER THE REMOTEST CHANCE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD STOP THE EXPORT OF OIL TO ITALY. THE OIL INTERESTS IN AMERICA ARE FAR TOO STRONG FOR ANY ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE SUCH A STEP.

THE Italian vote is, moreover, much the most powerful foreign vote in the United States. Neither Mr. Roosevelt nor any other candidate for the Presidency will do anything to alienate this vast mass of the electorate, in view of the struggle which will take place in November.

QUITE apart from this, it is the fixed determination of the American people to hold entirely aloof from League of Nations entanglements. "Collective security" they regard as a myth and Geneva as the puppet of Whitehall.

THE British Government, now this opportunity is given them, should use it to withdraw resolutely from all association with the policy of sanctions, of which the projected oil ban was to be the climax.

IMMENSE harm has been done already through the fact that the British delegation at Geneva, under the dangerous Mr. Eden, has forced the pace. It has acted throughout as prosecuting attorney against a Power to which we are tied by bonds of traditional friendship and interest.

### SATURDAY REVIEW

FOUNDED IN 1855

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22nd FEBRUARY, 1936

Reprinted from the " Daily Mail."

# Reds' Bid to Close Nansen Office SLAVES OF THE SOVIET

GENEVA.

THE Soviet Government is exerting great pressure to close the Nansen Refugee Office at Geneva.

Through the office, which was founded by the late Dr. Nansen, the famous explorer, in his mansion here 14 years ago, 2,000,000 Great War refugees have either been settled in other countries or provided with "Nansen passports" to enable them to work.

There are still, however, more than a million wanderers in Europe without any nationality—mainly victims of the Soviet regime.

If the Soviet has its way all League credits to the Nansen Office will be suppressed in two years' time, and the White Russian and Armenian refugees abandoned to their fate. Jostled from frontier to frontier, many are already being forced into terrorist organisations.

Reprinted from "G.K.'s Weekly."

There is all around us at the moment a glorification of the Russian alliance, but we should like to draw attention to what it implies. In *The Times* to-day an account appears, without a shade of censure, of the intense activity of the Soviets along the Siberian railway, in an effort to double the line, for no other purpose we suppose than the strategic one of a prospective war. The italics are ours:

This work was begun and largely carried out by the O.G.P.U. with forced labour gangs transported from European Russia and later reinforced particularly by some of the prisoners who built the canal between the White Sea and the Baltic. Moscow states that the gangs include a high proportion of women and the work has been continued incessantly in all weathers, summer and winter, although the cold has sometimes reached a temperature of —76 deg. F. . . . The State Security Police (the successors to the O.G.P.U.) have a great army of forced railway and canal builders between Lake Baikal and the Pacific, estimated at over 100,000, engaged exclusively on Far-Eastern railway construction. Apparently the Khabarovsk-Soviet Harbour line has already begun.

After so many months when Russia, as a pillar of the League of Nations appealed to all our humanitarians in support of the undoubted slave-dealers of Abyssinia, we are intrigued by this information from The Times. Does it suggest that the Russian alliance is a particularly creditable one? Members of those labour-gangs are not necessarily felons. In happier circumstances they might have been readers of the News-Chronicle or of the New Statesmen.

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#### THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

#### Mr. Baldwin Stays

Mr. Baldwin is not going to leave the political scene. Why, what would be the good of having mothered Mr. Ramsay MacDonald safely back into the National Government family if the family was going to break up?

Daily Express.

#### Arms and the Man

Unless new crises of foreign policy compete, the House of Commons during the months ahead will be dominated by Defence as in no session since the years before Armageddon. all ways the subject is more difficult than then, and in some ways both more formidable and more urgent. Democracy is the best system for assured peace, but unless when roused to make a drastic reform of its ordinary habits, it is apt to find itself at a dangerous or fatal disadvantage by comparison with the more concentrated systems of preparation for the possible ordeal of war. We see the great dictatorships armed to the teeth and still arming. They command and organise, with unprecedented thoroughness and "totality," as the word goes, the human and technical resources As a result of the final imof entire societies. pulses created by the actions and reactions of the Sanctions Policy, the whole world is now moving to a climax of rearmament. However much that tremendous fact may be deplored and dreaded, no man of any Party can pretend to blink it. Not only does it dominate Parliament. It dominates everything.

#### Parliamentary Realities

With last Friday's remarkable debate the real awakening has begun and the next few weeks will make it complete. The thanks of the country are due to Admiral Sir Murray Sueter for his motion and its consequences. He moved formally for the creation of a "Ministry of Defence," but his real purpose, admirably attained, was to arouse strong discussion on the matter of absolute necessity. That necessity is to adopt some new means

—in accordance with the new and revolutionised conditions — for regulating the claims and relations of the three services; for co-ordinating their action; and to provide for the requisite expansion of industry in support of them all.



Last Friday's encounter, though short, went nearer to the heart of realities, and was more effectual in advancing the question than any Parliamentary discussion of the kind for many years. It was worthy both of the subject and the House of Commons. Mr. Attlee, as Leader of the Opposition, deserved the congratulations he received from the other side. Sir Austen Chamberlain's severe criticism of the past inertia of the Government and their inexplicable misinformation was almost startling as from him; but we cannot doubt that it will be as salutary in effect as it was damaging for the moment.

#### What the Sparrows Knew

Though Mr. Baldwin himself was the chief victim of Sir Austen's censure, we are bound to remember that other Ministers were almost equally responsible for prolonged inertia and misjudgment. No technical secrets were chiefly concerned. The main facts about cumulative rearmament by other Great Powers after Herr Hitler's triumph in Germany—with the parallel activities in Russia, Japan, Italy, and elsewhere—were open and known to every independent investigator. All the sparrows in Europe piped from the housetops about things our National Cabinet did not know.

MR. J. L. GARVIN in The Observer.

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#### Not Ours to Give Away

Those who propose to disarm must also prepare to disown. Just for that reason it was logical in Mr. Lansbury to raise the question of sharing out the British Empire: if the Pacifist is not prepared to fight under any provocation whatsoever, it follows that he cannot defend and may as well therefore disown his possessions before the process of dis-possession begins. That process it will take energy and courage to avoid; but we are encouraged in the belief that these qualities are not dead in the British breast by the brief statement of Mr. Thomas in the House of Commons yesterday. "His Majesty's Government," said the Secretary of State, "has not considered, and is not consider-



ing, the handing over of any of the British Colonies or territories held under mandate." We may conclude that as our Government does not propose to disown the British Empire it is preparing, if need be, to defend it. It is a grave but a worthy decision.

#### British Ideals

Our Socialists, apart from Mr. Lansbury, can hardly be called Pacifists, because they are ready to rush into war in the cause of peace; but they shrink from any idea of defending the British Empire, and no doubt for that reason they dally with two ideas, one to hand back the mandated territories and the other to "internationalise," as Professor Laski calls it, the British Empire. On the former point, as our Political Correspondent stated yesterday, some pertinent considerations have been raised by Conservative Members. They describe these mandated territories as an honourable trust, and they point out that this is a conflict not merely as to possession but of ideals. In those great regions of tropical Africa which are administered as British Colonies the native is allowed the liberties and customs of his own tribal system. He cultivates his native land, sells his native produce and governs himself or is governed by his chief in his own village. He is not drilled; he is not exploited.

#### Breach of Trust

Interference only comes when his customs darken into intolerable cruelties, Would

the Africans after enjoying this easy rule be content to go back to the old system of militarised servitude, which was commonly called the rule of the kiboko? Or would they be delivered over against their will? We considered yesterday what happened to the Assyrians when they were handed over to the tender mercies of the Iraqi Mohammedans. Sir Henry Page Croft recently put the delicate question—" Is it suggested that Palestine should be handed over to Germany?" Or if not to Germany then to Turkey? The natural reply to such questions suggests a conflict of ideals, of methods of administration, of consideration for the governed, which makes it impossible without injustice and breach of trust to carry out such a transfer.

#### Duty to Our Colonies

So with the other proposal to place the British Empire under an international authority. self-governing Dominions may be ruled out at once since they control their own destinies and would reject any such idea with a summary contempt. But the Crown Colonies, although they are governed more directly, have also acquired under our rule the right to a say in the administration. Even in the most backward cases their feelings and their sentiments have to be considered. strange as it may seem to our Internationalists, these Colonial subjects are proud of the flag under which they are born and their status under the Crown. For these reasons if for no other such a transfer would be a shameful transaction, and selfrespecting Britons will rejoice that the Government has chosen the more arduous but more honourable alternative. As to the question of raw materials the result of the inter-departmental inquiry, which we reported on Monday, suggests that there is no ground for grievance since both Crown Colonies and mandated territories are ready to sell their produce to any nation which is ready to buy it.

Morning Post.

#### Lord Cecil Explains

"The fundamental idea of the League of Nations," said Lord Cecil in a speech at Oxford, is not to preserve the peace of the world but to recognise the community of nations."

There is a charming ingenuousness about that word "recognise," for it implies that the community of nations exists. But does it exist, and what are the authentic earmarks of international communion? Before there were any nations man was, as the Elizabethan philosopher expressed it, a wolf to his fellow man. Since there have been nations every nation has been a wolf — or wolf's meat—to its fellow nations. The world's history shows no single exception to this rule.

Nations have only this in common, that each is composed of human beings infested with a primordial urge to eat the faces off each other, and an elaborate technique for concealing their carnivorous propensity. There is no more a community of nations, in the sublime sense in which Lord Cecil would have us think of it, than there is a community of boa-constrictors.



What Lord Cecil is probably trying to say is that the League's business is not to draw the nations' teeth but to persuade them that it is not in their interests to use them on each other.

If that were a realisable objective the League, however ill-constructed, would at least have made some progress. But the nations have never been so combative. If the League had merely failed to achieve the impossible there would be no cause for complaint. The trouble is that the Geneva Green Table, intended to be a scene of illimitable manifestations of disinterested good will, has provided the nations with an unparalleled opportunity for pulling noses.

Evening News

#### Bolshevik Intolerance

Sir Walter Citrine is writing in Labour, the monthly organ of the T.U.C. and the "Labour" Party, his impressions of Soviet Russia. He has already earned the condemnation of the Communist Party by his criticisms of labour conditions in Russia and by his critical review in the Daily Herald of Lord and Lady Passfield's book on Communism. In his first article in Labour he describes the intolerance that still prevails in Soviet Russia, and mentions the "vanishing from the scene" of some of the personalities of 1925. These include Trotsky, Zinovieff, and Kamineff. They are in exile. Rykov is under a cloud and Rakovsky is no longer popular. He added:—

Even Tomsky, the then president of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, had been removed from his post, and none of my British colleagues who had visited Russia in recent years had been able to see him.

#### A Disturbing Book

Describing his voyage to Leningrad in the Russian vessel "Smolny," Sir Walter says that

the passengers were treated to "a daily dose" of Communist propaganda, and he adds:—

There was also a curious incident of censorship. An English lady passenger was reading Mr. W. H. Chamberlain's "Russia's Iron Age." Having left the book in the dining saloon, she returned to find three Russians examining it. They immediately wanted to know why she was going to Russia and why she was taking that particular book. They declined to return it to her, and said their duty was to give it to the captain of the ship. A Communist who, at the lady's request, asked for its return was told by the captain that he was going to burn it and would like to burn the author as well.

"Revelations" of this kind will not increase the popularity of Sir Walter Citrine among the admirers of the Soviet regime.

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#### At Last!

Sir Austen Chamberlain in his outspoken speech in Friday's debate voiced the anxiety of all thinking men and women about the neglect into which our defences have been allowed to fall and the ineptitude which has characterised the belated and lifeless attempt to rebuild them.



He said no word that has not been said repeatedly in the Sunday Dispatch, and its associated newspapers, the Daily Mail and the Evening News.

Sir Austen reminded the Commons and the country that the Prime Minister had had to admit that he was wrong about the comparative strengths of Britain and Germany in the air.

"I recall no comparable pronouncement by the head of the Government on the fundamental issue of defence in the forty-odd years of my Parliamentary experience," said Sir Austen.

For three years the Sunday Dispatch and the Daily Mail have told the Ministry and the nation the truth about foreign armaments and have warned them of Britain's danger.

The Premier's confession of needless error about German arming was but one of the indictments which the ex-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs brought against the Government. There were other perturbing incidents which, he rightly said, "could not have happened if the thinking machine of the Government was working properly."

Sunday Dispatch.

### No Surrender in Egypt

By Sir Michael O'Dwyer

It is a truism to say that Egypt is the pivot of the British Empire. If it is passed into the hands of a rival or hostile Power—for Egypt has never been able to maintain her own independence—the British Eastern Empire would cease to exist. That was recognised long before the Suez Canal was constructed and before we had any direct connection with Egypt.

We went to war with Napoleon and prevented him from capturing the key of the Mediterranean for France. Some 80 years later France and England, as the chief shareholders in the Suez Canal and on behalf of the foreign creditors, were compelled jointly to assume control of Egypt's finances, brought to the verge of ruin by the extravagance of the Khedive Ismail.

The condominium came to an end in 1882, when France refused to join in suppressing Arabi's rebellion against the then Khedive. British forces, naval and military, restored the situation and since then a strong British Army of occupation has been maintained at our cost in Egypt—at the vital points, Cairo and Alexandria.

That force has protected Egypt against foreign aggression and the internal disorders to which the ignorant and excitable population is so prone; it has thus been the main factor in the steady economic progress of the Nile Valley which British experts and advisers in the finance, judicial, home, irrigation, and railway departments, working under Egyptian Ministers, have so successfully promoted under the direction of those great administrators, Cromer, Wingate and Kitchener.

Thus, by accident, rather than by design, we had to assume a large measure of control over the whole administration, and no-one will deny that such control was exercised for the benefit of the Egyptian masses.

The Great War made it even clearer than before that Egypt was of vital importance to us. We deposed the Khedive Abbas, who was hostile to the

Allies, repudiated the Turkish Suzerainty over Egypt and established a British Protectorate.

After the Armistice the Egyptians, like the Indian Nationalists, claimed that we should give effect to the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination. Our refusal to allow them to present their case before the Peace Conference led the extremist leaders—Zaghlul and his colleagues—to stir up violent anti-British agitation culminating in riots and murders of British residents which synchronised with the similar rebellious outbreaks of 1919 in Northern India.

Then began that fatal weakness and vacillation which since 1920 have characterised British policy in Ireland, India and Egypt.

Zaghlul and his colleagues were first deported, then released, then deported again! In 1920-1921 a Mission headed by Lord Milner was sent to Egypt to report on the situation and advise His Majesty's Government as to the future constitution and general line of policy.

The Mission was boycotted by the Zaghlul party, the so-called nationalists, who now encouraged by our surrender in Ireland and India, stood out for complete independence, which, if granted, would have left Egypt at the mercy of any strong Mediterranean Power. Meantime, assassinations of British residents went on steadily, as in Ireland.

The Mission returned in the spring of 1931. Secret negotiations were carried on in Europe with the Zaghlul party and as a result of these and of the Mission's proposals, the Coalition Government in February, 1922, issued the following declaration of policy:—

The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated and Egypt is declared to be an independent Sovereign State.

The following matters are absolutely reserved to the discretion of H.M. Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto:—



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(a) The security of the communications of the British

Empire in Egypt.

(b) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression and interference, direct or indirect.

(c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and

the protection of minorities.
(d) The Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements the status quo in all these matters shall remain intact.

Could anything be more inept than to start with a declaration of independence and then lay down four vital matters in regard to which that independence should be limited by future agreement between the parties?

Of the many colossal blunders of the Coalition Government this is perhaps the most glaring. What would have been more reasonable than to hold over the independence declaration till the restrictions thereon had been defined and agreed to, as they would have been while we held the trump card in our hands?

What has been the result? The Egyptian extremists say, naturally enough, "You give us independence with one hand and you take it away with the other."

Inter alia he was prepared to agree to:-

- (a) The termination of the British Military occupation; the withdrawal of the troops from Cairo and Alexandria to some place adjoining the Canal in the desert near Ismailia as a temporary measure and their complete withdrawal, in case England objected to this, at the command of the League. Egypt was to be defended by her own insignificant army of some 11,000 men. no Navy.
- (b) The abandonment of British responsibility for the protection of foreigners and minorities

Fortunately even the Socialist Government was not prepared to accept the extravagance of Egyp. tian claims as regards the Sudan, where, under the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of 1899 - following the reconquest by Kitchener - the supreme civil and military power is invested in the Governor-General appointed on the recommendation of the British Government.

A fresh attempt has now been made to come to agreement on the four reserved points. King Fuad has just appointed a committee of 13, representing all Egyptian parties, to negotiate with Sir Miles Lampson, the High Commissioner, who, fortun-



Students armed with sticks on their way to a Wafd meeting in Cairo. Later they were dispersed by police and troops, sixty being wounded and one killed.

Consequently the Wafd, corresponding to the Congress party in India, have hitherto strenuously resisted any attempts to come to agreement on the four reserved points and have been agitating for their being whittled down or abandoned; while the more reasonable politicians, though at heart anxious for a settlement, fear, as in India, to be dubbed unpatriotic if they differ from the extremists.

Both parties, seeing our rapid retreat from Irak and our recent surrender in India, trust that their intransigeance will drive us to a like surrender in Egypt. And they have had good reason for that view. In the last attempt in 1930 to come to agreement, Mr. Henderson, Foreign Secretary of the Socialist Government, having forced the resigna-tion of Lord Lloyd, because he stood out for a commonsense settlement, was willing to concede most of the extremists' demands.

ately, will have the advice of experienced chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Forces.

Having regard to past abdications of our rights and responsibilities the negotiations should receive the closest scrutiny by the Press, the public and Parliament.

Much water has flowed down the Nile since Mr. Henderson's defeatist proposals of 1930, and we have to reconsider the entire problem in the light of recent events and especially of the Italo-Abyssinian War.

The Egyptian politicians are astute bargainers and will doubtless try to start from the Henderson proposals rather than from the 1922 Declaration.

That should be opposed tooth and nail. Consider what our position would have been to-day if the Henderson settlement were in force. Egypt would be presumed able to defend herself, though all history shows she cannot do so. The British Forces, if not already withdrawn under orders of the League of Nations, would be limited to some 11,000 and dumped down on the desert far from the vital strategic points. Whereas in view of existing facts and to defend Egypt we have had to concentrate the Mediterranean fleet at Alexandria and to raise our military strength to some 50,000, holding not only Cairo and Alexandria and the line of the Canal, but also the Libyan frontier against possible external attacks.

Egypt to-day is not in a position to defend herself or to protect foreign interest in the country. It is easy to imagine an incident which would give a rival or hostile Mediterranean Power an excuse for landing a force to protect its nationals. Once they landed there would be no withdrawal.

The British Army at present guarantees that protection—as proved over and over again in recent years—and if it were rendered incapable of doing so, there are others eager to take its place.

In Egypt at least we have to thank the Duce for bringing us face to face with realities. We know now that Egypt, including the Sudan and Suez Canal, is vital to the British Empire. We have to see that in the settlement now under con-

sideration, our statesmen will not sacrifice our interests and those of the Egyptian people, but must stand firm on four principles:—

- (a) The maintenance of British Naval, Military and Air Forces adequate to protect our Imperial communications, defend Egypt against external aggression or serious internal disorders and safeguard foreigners.
- (b) The strength and location of such forces to be in the discretion of the British Government.
- (c) Great Britain not to interfere in the internal administration unless a situation is likely to arise which would seriously endanger internal security. To guard against that, certain British advisers to be maintained in the departments of finance, justice, and public safety under Egyptian Ministers.
- (d) The position of the Sudan to remain as established by the Convention of 1899, but Egypt to have a voice in all matters affecting Nile irrigation in Egypt.

In a word, the interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the matter of defence coincide, and as Egypt is admittedly unable to defend herself, she is fortunate in having a friendly power who for fifty years has undertaken that task at its own cost and is able and willing to fulfil it in the future.

### Ireland Will Stab Us In the Back

By Kim

PERIODICALLY this country gets a bad scare, and for a few days or weeks, tremendous energy is shown demanding immediate reforms, a few penitent words are spoken from the front Ministerial bench, and then nearly everybody goes to sleep again in the full belief that something is going to be done and is being done.

Such a situation was created by Sir Austen Chamberlain last Friday, when he strongly criticised Mr. Baldwin for having been proved absolutely wrong on two occasions. Why it should need Sir Austen Chamberlan to stand up and say what the Saturday Review and others have stated for over three years before the nation is roused to a sense of its danger is one of the mysteries of Parliamentary system. If Sir Austen Chamberlain had stood up two years ago and told the Government a few home truths, he would have rendered a far greater service to his country than his belated attack on the utter incapacity and neglect of Mr. Baldwin at this perilously late hour. For this neglect of national defences is no new matter. It has been deliberately brought about by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, aided and abetted by Mr. Baldwin, who have incurred a responsibility to the future of the British nation whose depths only posterity will be able to realise to its bitter fullness. I do not wish to be ungenerous to Sir Austen Chamberlain, who at least has brought Mr. Baldwin to the bar of public opinion, but he and those for whom he spoke cannot escape their responsibility which they have shirked for all these years because they now make a tardy protest.

Let us consider whether the Conservative Members of Parliament who associate themselves with Sir Austen Chamberlain in pressing the Government to get a move on have yet really awakened to the true situation. There is a lot of talk about the re-modelling of our defensive system, but if it is to be placed in charge of political place-men like Sir Samuel Hoare or Lord Eustace Percy, it will prove once again that when there is a crisis it merely means a re-shuffle of the old gang and a relapse to the same old conditions of inefficiency and ineptitude. Platform spouters and political wanglers are the last men as such to be placed in the position to decide the tremendous issues of our national defences. It requires independent persons of vision, who know at first hand the problems of the Empire with which the British Isles are irrevocably bound up, with a complete grasp of world conditions, and the courage to take any drastic steps necessary. There are many such men available.

The problem confronting those responsible for our future safety and that of the Empire is not what may happen in three years' time, but perhaps in three months' time. Suppose Germany infringes the demilitarised Rhineland, as there is reason to believe, according to the best informed

circles, she will do. If she is ready to strike it will be with everything prepared with German thoroughness. Immediately a most critical situation will arise, and in view of this, France is endeavouring to arrange her encircling movement with the Little Entente and Russia, but military strategists agree that the links are not strong. Italy in view of the treatment meted out to her by our execrable diplomacy and the retention of Mr. Anthony Eden, will most definitely not side against Germany, and, as the situation is developing, will quite likely support her.

Russia, whatever her obligations may be with France, will not help France with Japan threatening her eastern flank, and with Poland ready to make a pact with Germany if France is allied with the Bolshevists. Our French friends are making a desperate and it may prove a ruinous move if they depend on the support of Russia. Litvinoff's policy is to overthrow the democracies of the west and if by any chance through his intrigues Europe can be embroiled in a deadly struggle the efforts of Russia will be to steer clear of them, hoping that as a result they will cut one another's throats.

Our position in this imbroglio is not yet defined, but the indications are shaping themselves clearly. France will call on us to support her, as she is It is believed by those doing at this moment. behind the scenes that in consideration of the support given unwillingly by France in our insane prosecution of Italy because she disobeyed the League of Nations, we have promised to assist her if Germany crosses the Rhine. Litvinoff was extremely active in London when he attended King George's funeral, and as we know, was closeted with Mr. Baldwin. They were certainly not dis-Mr. Eden, who for no cussing the weather. credible reason is given a free hand by Mr. Baldwin to wreak his worst has shown himself to be an absolute dupe in the hands of Litvinoff, who plays with him like a cat with a mouse.

#### GERMANY WILL BE READY

If these orientations of European policy eventuate on the lines they are shaping, then before any of us are very much older, we shall come to the crisis. Germany will be ready much sooner than our ill-informed Secret Service imagine is possible. She is already to all intents and purposes on a war basis, starving herself, letting no money out of the country, perfecting synthetic alternatives to rubber, petrol, and many other necessities. Her secrecy is of itself unsettling, and only rumours exist as to how many planes she possesses, secret aerodromes, tanks, guns, and the rest, for instead of boasting as in the old days, she is doing her best to lull her future enemies to sleep.

Her diplomacy is as adroit and secretive as her other preparations to overthrow the world. True, she has not so much won Italy as that Mr. Anthony Eden has been allowed to make a present of Italy to Herr Hitler on terms which one day will doubtless concede to Italy everything she wants in Africa. And can anyone in their senses doubt that Germany has another ally? I mean the Irish Free State.

Mr. J. H. Morgan, K.C., the famous Constitutionalist lawyer, said at Bath last week that many know, though the Hush-Hush gang lie low, that De Valera is also biding his time—Der Tag—to declare his independent Republic. He has been verging closer and closer to it the last few years and the Government have taken no steps to protect the British nation from the consequences. Mr. Morgan says that if and when a European War comes upon us like a thief in the night in the next few months, De Valera will declare for independence and "come to some agreement with a foreign power whose relationship with the Free State is particularly intimate."

Have our strategists explored this unpleasant avenue? Mr. Morgan is a man of great distinction and influence who does not utter light sayings.

#### OUR ARCH-ENEMY

De Valera's intrigues with Germany are well known to the Government, but Mr. Baldwin, like his predecessor, has never shown anything but a grovelling attitude to this arch-enemy of our Germans, on the pretext of chaining the country. Shannon, have been in Ireland for some years and are there still. They are in Ireland for other purposes besides engineering and it is unquestionable that they have made adequate arrangements when the time comes that the Irish loughs and harbours will be fully accessible to German submarines, and that aerodromes are already planned out. It is in fact almost a certain inference that if we are dragged will-nilly into a war against Germany by the policy of Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Eden, and the supporters of the League of Nations (including Sir Austen Chamberlain), De Valera will not only proclaim the independence of the Free State, but will become the open and active ally of Germany immediately it is feasible. In such circumstances, Britain will be attacked with the aid of Germany on her western flank.

The Government, in its new defence preparations, intend to make Pembroke Docks, on the extreme west of Wales, their centre of munitions. It is said that it is impregnable as long as there is a British fleet in Home Waters, but they are leaving De Valera out of account. The Germans with their great secret fleet of submarines (only wanting keels that can be turned out by mass production in the shortest time) will give the Admiralty something to think about and German bombers from Ireland can reach Pembroke in about half-an-hour. All our naval pacts and limitations have been defeated by Germany, although she has not broken the letter of her agreements. Her pocket battleships can defeat any cruisers and escape easily from our ponderous battleships.

There is so much Hush-Hush to-day and the nation is so cruelly deluded that it is time the truth were told. Ireland will stab us in the back while Germany attacks from the front, unless the Government were to decide, as they could do, to resume entire military control of Ireland at once and kill this conspiracy. Perhaps the now "awakened" Conservatives will give this aspect of defence their consideration.

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# What the Result of a Pact With Russia Would Mean

By Meriel Buchanan

PERHAPS the most serious threat to the peace and security of Europe is the projected Pact between France and Russia, for if that Pact is ratified it must inevitably cause a complete revision of the present conditions in Europe, and will be regarded, both by Germany and Japan, as a direct act of hostility.

France's fear of Germany has been almost an obsession, and in her terror of Hitler's ever-increasing armies she has sought blindly for some safeguard; she has indeed been so driven by this ever-present terror that she is now seeking an Alliance which must darken her fair name, and cast on it a shadow more shameful even than the shadow that was cast on it by the horrors of the French Revolution.

When she first considered making this pact with Russia, France was actuated purely by her nervousness of the German menace and had no thought of Japan, but the Soviet leaders are entirely self-interested and they know that one day, inevitably, the long expected clash in the Far East is bound to come, and with far-seeing deliberation they are preparing for that day.

#### THE USUAL LIES

Soviet diplomacy is pressing for the ratification of the Pact and until it is signed the Kremlin will make no definite move. The Frontier incident of a few days ago will be glossed over, minimised, explained away by the usual versatile Soviet lies; only when the Pact is signed will Stalin show his hand. Then France will find herself hopelessly enmeshed in the Kremlin net, and French Statesmen will see how they have been hoodwinked and tricked, and will find themselves forced by the terms of their Alliance to come to the assistance of Russia against Japan, will find themselves bound to sacrifice the youth and gallant courage of their soldiers in a quarrel which does not in any way concern them. For as soon as the Pact is signed and Russia feels herself secure she will move; the armies of General Blücher, which for months past have been gathering on the Far Eastern frontiers, will begin their advance, and the secret Air Force centres in Siberia will send out their fleet of bombers to drop death and destruction in Japan.

Strong rumours are current in Europe that Germany has concluded a secret Alliance with Japan. If that is indeed the case, then she would inevitably regard Russia's offensive in the Far East as an excuse for her long desired attack on the Soviet Union, either through Poland, through the Ukraine, through East Prussia or, by sea, through the Baltic.

And while these negotiations are in progress in France, what is England doing? Have we already, urged by Mr. Eden, signed a Pact with

Russia behind the locked doors of the Foreign Office? Will the old Triple Entente—but with what a difference—come into force again? Will we stand by our agreements with France and come to her assistance once more?

England, whose name in Europe used to have such power, whose voice was listened to all over the world, because it was always the voice of Justice, of Honesty, of unflinching courage, is England now to be allied to the powers of darkness and evil?

What is it that has brought our country to this pass? Do we no longer breed the men whose wisdom, high principles and political honour carried such weight in the Council of the Nations?

We have allowed a Prime Minister who called himself a Socialist, and who was regarded by many as a traitor, to be succeeded by a Prime Minister who calls himself a Conservative, as a matter of political expediency, and we have stood by, while these two valiant gentlemen have lowered our defences and impoverished our fighting forces to such an extent that we are now liable to be destroyed by any nation in Europe. We have allowed a man with a quite unsurpassed sense of self-esteem and tactless indiscretion to ruin our friendship with Italy. We are now allowing him to make an enemy with another great, friendly Nation and alienate Japan by our warm support of Russia. We have allowed him to rouse Germany against us by his inflammatory words at Geneva, and his obsequious reception of Litvinoff and Tuchachevsky.

#### GRAVE WARNING

Can we wonder that Germany is incensed, and that she is accusing us of supporting and encouraging the ratification of the Pact between France and Russia? On February 12th the Berliner Tageblatt said bitterly: "Germany would regard the ratification of the Pact as a serious and decisive point in the history of Europe. It will enormously increase the difficulties of uniting Europe. It will make the free relations between France, Germany and Britain difficult. . . . When the Soviet Pact has been ratified by the Chamber, future generations of Frenchmen will be able to say that we owe this event to Britain."

This warning is already grave enough. But what will the position be if we are contemplating—or have even perhaps already signed a Pact with Russia ourselves? Will not Germany see in this a hostile action? Will not Japan regard it as a reason for breaking off diplomatic relations? Will not Italy view it as yet another insult added to the many we have piled on her during the last few months? Italy knows that Russia is seeking to destroy Fascism. She has already been bitterly hurt by our siding with the Soviet at Geneva, by

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the violent and criminal attacks made on her by Mr. Eden. If we now make a pact with Russia, will not Italy, already drifting into friendship with Germany, consolidate herself by an Alliance?

Germany, consolidate herself by an Alliance?

United to France and Russia, with Germany,
Japan and Italy against us, we have no real chance
of defending our Empire. We have not yet forgotten the terror of German air attacks during the
last war, and now, while the German Air Force
has grown in a measure that passes all belief, the
English Air Defence has been depleted in a
measure that passes all belief, has made no
advance, is in no state to beat back an aerial attack

on London or any of the key cities of the United Kingdom. At the same time Italy can attack our Naval bases in the Mediterranean, can possibly lay Malta and Gibraltar in ruins, can cut off our route to India, while Japan can overthrow one of our most important possessions in the Far East, the Straits Settlements.

Never before has a Foreign Minister had such a chance to bring into operation a genius of diplomacy and save Europe from the disaster into which she is drifting. But bricks cannot be made without straw and we should be expecting too much of Mr. Eden.

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### England and Abyssinia

By T. Charles Edwards

THE present Abyssinian crisis, as it is inadequately called in the English newspapers, represents the latest and, perhaps, the most critical stage of an international question of the first magnitude; a question which has engaged, at times to the exclusion of almost every other problem, the attention of European diplomacy since 1870. It possesses a considerable and detailed bibliography and its main outlines are familiar to every reader of modern history....

The stakes in the game are the valley of the Nile, the route to India and the strategic control of the Mediterranean. The players immediately interested are England, France, Italy, and Abyssinia. For practical purposes we may take two events as marking the opening of the game. In 1881 France, by her famous "coup de Bourse," as Clemenceau called it, seized Tunis in the teeth of Italian opposition for the benefit of the concessionaires and financiers of Paris. Italy was forced reluctantly to give way and bide her time. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, placing Egypt and the Red Sea on the direct route to India. construction of the Suez Canal was almost entirely due to France. "England," as Sir John Marriott has said, "contributed neither brains, money nor encouragement." In 1875 came Disraeli's famous purchase of the Suez Canal shares, backed by the Rothschilds. In less than a decade, Egypt was under the military control of England, an Egyptian national revolt had been crushed, Alexandria bombarded, and France left protesting ineffectually.\* The occupation of Egypt was, explained the English Government, entirely "temporary." After half a century England is still in military control of the country.

As a result England was faced with three immediate problems, that of the enmity of France, the Red Sea littoral and the Nile. At this point the

position of Abyssinia became of the first importance.

In the meantime there was a rush to seize the entrance to the Red Sea. The French occupied Obock in 1881 and in a short time the whole of the gulf of Tajura, including Djibouti, was in their hands. At the same time Italy backed the Rubattino Company, which had so nearly games and with two warships seized Assab, "a proceedwas viewed with a good deal of rather unnecessary ill-humour by the Indian Government of the day." Faced by the danger of the rest of the coast passing under the control of Italy and France, England seized the port of Zeila and the territory which is now British Somaliland in 1884. Across the straits of Bab El Mandeb, Perim Island and Aden buttressed the position of England. In front of the three rivals rose the fortress of the Abyssinian A fierce struggle began between mountains. France and England for the trade with Harrar. It was interrupted by the sudden rise to power of the Mahdi in the Sudan. This altered the whole situation. At the end of 1883 the Mahdi and his dervishes wiped out an Anglo-Egyptian army; in the next year he was at Suakim on the coast of the Red Sea; in 1885 Khartum was taken, Gordon dead and the Mahdi's troops were occupying Kassala on the Abyssinian border.

England was faced with three problems. In the House of Commons, 28 March, 1895, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett quoted a distinguished English officer as follows: "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water that runs down the Nile." Secondly, the remaining garrisons had, somehow, to be evacuated from the Sudan. Lastly, her predominant position in Abyssinia, the foundations of which had already been laid, was gone. The arrival of the Mahdi had left this last in the air.

England now proceeded to meet the new and dangerous situation created by the loss of the Sudan to the Mahdi by an astute and complicated

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<sup>\*</sup>Raudolph Churchill called it accurately, "a bond-holders" war."

diplomatic move. This move was entirely successful:—

- 1. In 1885 and 1886 the English officers who carried out the evacuation of Harrar installed there as ruler the Emir Abdullah. This potentate announced shortly after his accession that wholesale trade was usurious and therefore contrary to the Mahometan religion; he therefore forbade it. All European trade with Harrar came therefore to a stop. The Emir's scruples, however, did not extend to the purchase of modern rifles. An Italian delegation, heavily armed, set out to see the Emir. The Emir's troops promptly massacred the delegation, without themselves suffering any casualties beyond seven Somalis whose share of the booty seems to have been the medicine chest.
- 2. England concluded an alliance in 1884 with the Abyssinian Emperor John IV., who had driven off the Egyptian invasion of the 'seventies, and who had now consolidated his position against his rival Menelik of Shoa. In return for a promise of free transit through Massowah under English protection of all goods, particularly arms and ammunition, and the restoration of the province of Bogos with its capital Keren, John rescued five Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan, the only garrisons which escaped the Mahdi.

#### ITALY ENCOURAGED

3. In 1885 England made her next move. For the time being her hands were tied. France was her most dangerous rival, for Italy's greed was only rivalled by her incompetence. It was decided to use Italy, who now took possession of Massowah at the invitation of England. She was encouraged to found the colony of Eritrea and to make preparations for further expansion into the interior. In this way an effective Italian barrier was introduced against France.

This diplomatic move involved the betrayal of England's ally, John, who had now performed his part of the bargain. In spite of his protests he saw Italy, the ally of his rival Menelik, installed at Massowah and on territory which he claimed as Abyssinian. Furthermore he got no more rifles; instead a steady stream of munitions went from Massowah to Menelik. In the meantime Italy provided England with a much-needed bulwark against expansion in the direction of the Red Sea by the Mahdi.

Italy began to extend her territory. In 1887 war broke out and an invading Italian force was surrounded and cut to pieces at Dogali by the Abyssinians. John, however, was caught between three enemies, the Dervishes, the Italians, and Menelik, who had occupied Harrar in 1887. In 1888, John struck at the Dervishes, defeated them, and died of wounds after the battle. His rival, Menelik, seized the throne.

For the time being France had been checked. English diplomacy had secured a success. But the business scarcely redounded to the honour of England.

Italy, towards the end of 1889, occupied the rest of what is to-day Eritrea, and in 1890 her troops

were across the Mareb river, and Adowa came under the Italian flag. "Meanwhile, in 1889 and the following years, Italy had, once more with the direct concurrence of Britain, marked out a new territory in Somaliland." (Ramsay Muir: The Expansion of Europe, p. 172.)

In the meantime England had become nervous at the rapid advance of Italy and a secret Anglo-French Agreement had been arranged in 1888 to protect Harrar. In 1889 the famous treaty of Ucciali had been signed between Italy and Abyssinia. Clause xvii was the cause of the trouble. According to the Italian version it gave Italy a protectorate over Abyssinia; according to the Amharic version the clause gave Menelik, if he wished, the right to use the services of Italy in negotiations with foreign powers. The Italian Government notified the Powers that Abyssinia was now an Italian Protectorate.

Menelik, hearing of this, refused to ratify, and in 1893 denounced the Treaty and informed the Powers.

#### TWO SECRET PROTOCOLS

The action of England is interesting. On March 24 and April 15, 1891, two secret protocols were signed at Rome between Italy and England, and on May 5, 1894, a public agreement between the two Governments was signed. They recognised as an Italian "sphere of influence" the whole of Eritrea, Abyssinia, Harrar, Ogaden, and Italian Somaliland. By so doing England kept the Nile Valley and blocked the advance of French influence which was now nearly supreme at the court of Menelik.

France immediately protested. The protest was made by M. Hanotaux. It will be remembered that it was M. Hanotaux who was mainly responsible for the election of Abyssinia to the League in 1923 in the teeth of English opposition. But Menelik English Government temporised. issued a stirring proclamation proclaiming the independence of his empire and declaring that Ethiopia has need of no one: she stretches out her hand to no one but God" (Ps. Ixviii, 31). He had already a large supply of rifles and ammunition which had been supplied to him by Italy for his wars against John. In the meantime France poured unlimited arms and ammunition into the country. On March 1st, 1896, was fought the decisive battle of Adowa. The Italian army, which fought with great courage, was annihilated. For the time being Ethiopia was saved.

The news of Adowa produced an immediate and violent change in England's policy. Detailed information was available about March 5th, and on March 12th the Government sent a telegram to Lord Cromer to say that it had been decided to begin the re-occupation of the Sudan. The defeat of Italy had uncovered the eastern flank of the Nile valley, and Lord Salisbury saw that immediate action was necessary. Kitchener's advance was begun on March 20th. In September, 1898, the death of Gordon was avenged and the Dervishes destroyed at Omdurman. The slaughter was appalling.

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### Risking the Fleet

[FROM VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE]

To the Editor of " The Daily Mail"

SIR,—With constantly increasing anxiety I have hitherto kept silent upon a matter of the gravest importance to our national safety. Nothing could be farther from my desire than to embarrass the British Government at a time when it has become involved in a grave international crisis.

But when the very existence of the country is in peril it is the patriotic duty of those with knowledge of the facts to denounce the danger.

I therefore put the following question publicly to the Prime Minister:—

Who is responsible for exposing the British Fleet to the deadly risks of its present position in the Mediterranean?

The British Press, in compliance with official requests, has published little about the vast concentration of our naval forces in those narrow waters. Recently, however, the Daily Telegraph declared that there were 50 British warships in Alexandria Harbour, "and enough smaller craft (that were not too small) to provide a magnificent review." American and French newspapers, moreover, have told us that in the Eastern Mediterranean and at Aden there lie at the present moment no less than 600,000 tons of British naval craft. This is more than half the total tonnage of the Royal Navy, and includes nearly all the most powerful and costly vessels in the Fleet.

If the purpose of this massing of our naval forces is to overawe Italy, that idea is a vain and dangerous illusion.

Those British ships now lying in the harbours of Alexandria, Haifa and Aden are at Italy's mercy. They are as defenceless against the Italian Air Force as sitting rabbits against hawks.

The recklessness with which our Fleet has been put in such a perilous position can only be matched indeed by the recklessness of our diplomacy at Geneva.

Have our naval strategists grasped the new conditions of modern warfare?

#### Young Airmen's Warning

Obstinate conservatism has often characterised the British Navy in the past. It was the Admiralty that stubbornly opposed the replacement of wooden ships by iron; the substitution of steam for sail; the adoption of the submarine; and the creation of a Fleet Air Arm. When the Great War started our admirals had no plans for defending British food-ships from under-water attack, and it was against their opposition that Mr. Lloyd George insisted upon the introduction of the convoy system, which saved the country from starvation.

The young airmen of Britain, with whom I make it my business to keep in touch, declare emphatically that no warship has any effective defence against the aeroplane. No naval craft were ever more exposed to destruction from the air than are the greatest vessels of the Royal Navy at this moment, crowded together in the harbours of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

In those unfortified ports they lie within easy reach of the Italian air-fleet. Aden is only 150 miles from the coast of Eritrea; Alexandria is 350 miles from Libya; Haifa lies only 450 miles from Rhodes, where a great Italian air-base has been recently constructed.

The latest Italian aeroplanes have a range of a thousand miles out and a thousand miles home. They carry two tons of bombs and fly at 250 miles an hour. Moreover, the time required in Italy to build an aeroplane is, according to my information, ten weeks. It takes much longer in England. Of these formidable instruments of warfare Italy is building between seven and ten daily. And in the Eastern Mediterranean at the present moment Italy has an immensely powerful force of aeroplanes, a high proportion of which are of great speed, range, and bomb-carrying capacity.

#### Magnificent Machines

These magnificent Italian machines, manned by pilots like those who flew with Balbo to Chicago, and equipped with engines such as gave Italy the world's air speed record, are the masters of the Mediterranean, dominating everything that floats or flies. While some of them were destroying the British Fleet at the eastern end of that sea, others could be raiding British shipping 200 miles west of Gibraltar out in the Atlantic.

### Have the authorities who sent our Fleet to lie so close to Italian air bases realised the perils that surround it there?

Enemy aeroplanes could drop great numbers of mines outside the harbours of Alexandria, Haifa and Aden. Our imprisoned warships would be exposed to terrible danger from direct bombing as they lay at their moorings, or crippled into uselessness by depth-charges dropped to explode within a few hundred feet of their sides. The escape of these ships through uncharted mine-strewn seas would be rendered impossible.

An even greater danger would be the raining of showers of two-pound thermite bombs upon the Fleet from an altitude of 10,000 feet. On contact these develop a temperature of 3,000 deg. F. and would burn their way through deck-armour like a red-hot coal through wax. The heat they generate is so terrible that any living thing within ten yards of their point of impact would be scorched to death.

The idle story is put about in Admiralty circles that warships armed with a new pom-pom anti-aircraft gun can protect themselves from air attack. The folly of this argument is proved by the fact that no warship afloat can carry a supply of ammunition for these guns sufficient for more than three hours' bombardment.

Such are the facts of the present situation of the British Navy. In all its long history it has never been subjected to more deadly potential peril. Those Socialist leaders who, in their ignorance, talk of blockading the coasts of Italy are playing

with a loaded gun which, if it went off, would instantly blast the major part of our country's Fleet out of existence.

It is ludicrous and futile to try to coerce by naval power alone a nation so formidable in the air as Italy.

I claim that the public has the right to know who is responsible for placing the country in such a perilous posture as we have so rashly taken up in the Mediterranean.

I am, Sir, etc., ROTHERMERE.

### Eve in Paris

THE greatest excitement was caused on Thursday by the attack on M. Léon Blum. Leaving the Chamber in the car of his friend, M. Monnet, the leader of the Socialist Party was recognised by the crowd gathered to witness the funeral procession of M. Jacques Bainville, the great historian. He was hooted and pelted, a missile hurled into the car cutting his head. Protected by some workmen, he took refuge in a house nearby. Later he was conveyed to hospital, his wounds (not very serious), were dressed, and faint with loss of blood, he regained his home.

It was assumed, but is not yet proved, that his aggressors were Camelots du Roi, come to honour the Royalist writer's obsequies. In the Chamber, the President, M. Sarraut and Members of the Right and of the Left united in condemning the outrageous assault, a Cabinet Council was held at the Elysée, and the League of l'Action Française, the Camelots du Roi, and similar organisations were dissolved, as being contrary to the peace of the State.

Yet that evening forty Action Française Leaguers were attacked in a café by 200 "Falcons Rouges," a Socialist group of which Léon Blum's friend, M. Monnet, is president. Twenty-five Royalists were injured, one, Doctor Golse losing an eye. Such faction conflicts should be suppressed, impartially.

FTER pleasant sunny days which lured buds into being, optimists announced an early spring, but last week winter returned in its most unpleasant mood. Intense cold and bitter winds prevailed in the forenoon; later came rain and sleet, covering the streets with a thin coating of ice, slippery and most dangerous. Cars skidded in their efforts to avoid fallen pedestrians and colliding with other vehicles, a bus dashed into a tree in Avenue Henri-Martin, and eight passengers were seriously injured.

A MERICAN buyers are here in larger numbers than for years past, causing a feeling of optimism in "la haute couture" and a stiffening of prices.

An amusing feature of the season's models is

their amazing convertibility. An evening dress of blue taffetas, sleeveless, had a graceful cape, its décolleté being held open in front by two large clips. In a moment the cape had become a blouse, long sleeves appearing, and the clips secured a belt, draperies now rising to the throat. Evening cloaks are not always needed, the train replacing them, made to lift over the shoulders. Coats and frocks are reversible, appearing dark or bright according to the wearer's humour.

The tailored dinner-gown is still favoured; materials are exquisite, lacquered satins, Syrian damasks, phosphorescent taffetas. M. Worth showed a wonderful collection in his new premises in Faubourg St. Honoré, and presented his son, Roger, creator of the loveliest models.

OBVIOUSLY no exhibition of paintings and works of art can produce four thousand masterpieces, but in the fifty rooms which house the forty-seventh annual "Salon des Indépendants" at the Grand Palais, much talent is displayed.

For years past eminent members of the Indépendant had neglected this show, annoyed at the alphabetical cataloguing of their exhibits; now the system is altered, men like André Lhote, Bonnard, Gromaire and Otho Friez have contributed admirable works.

Of special interest is the retrospective exhibit of pictures by Paul Signac, President of the "Indépendants" who died last year, and belonged to a great generation, the post-Impressionists. Noticeable are the fine seascapes from the brush of the veteran painter, and snow effects faithfully rendered with "Pointillist" technique.

Characteristics of this exhibition are its vitality, and sincerity. Groups stand admiringly before the productions of recognised Masters, then pass into other sections. The Super-realist room, the Musicalist, the Japanese-influenced, the Ideologists'; in these may be found mirth-provoking canvases, faulty in drawing, outrageous in colouring, but seeking to express, with inadequate power, some new idea, some original thought, more interesting than the uninspired, conventional paintings in the majority at recent salons.

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### Danegeld or Security?

#### By Francis Burgess

T is curious how old ideas keep cropping up in our very modern world to be hailed as if they were startlingly new.

Lenin, when he set about establishing the Marxist Utopia, wading through seas of innocent blood, imagined he was putting into operation brand new ideas of governing humanity. But as a matter of cold fact, he was only repeating the old French Revolution drama of a Demos deluded into believing the spilling of blood was necessary for the bringing in of a new era of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

And just as in France, revolution speedily gave place to the military dictatorship and the Empire of Napoleon, so, too, in Soviet Russia "proletarian rule" has proved a fantasy of Bolshevik imagination and the actual government is the hands of a dictator, supported by a privileged class and a vast Red army

This proletarian delusion, of course, is far older than the French Revolution, going back to ancient classical times. But it is not the only hoary delusion which has obsessed the human mind in the century in which we live. Consider all the futilities that have sprung out of the ending of the "war that was to end war."

This League of Nations, these interminable Conferences, these Peace Pacts, these pathetic strivings after a peace that is so elusive, the while most of the Powers are busily engaged in arming themselves to the full limit of their resources!

#### Lansbury-Lloyd George Proposals

Then there is the very latest project, the joint offspring of a Lansbury and a Lloyd George. Their remedy for a world of fear, a world in arms, is for Britain hastily to summon a Special Conference, not indeed to parcel out its Empire to the have-nots (they both disclaim such an act of generosity), but to seek to propitiate her disgruntled neighbours with offers of free access to colonial raw materials and of surrender of mandated territory.

What is this in effect but a reversion to the old Anglo-Saxon Danegeld—the buying off of possible enemies?

This was the only expedient for which poor Anglo-Saxon Ethelred was ever ready, if we except what one might call his unfortunate Socialist tendency of wantonly provoking his kingdom's enemies; and the consequences were disastrous both for his kingdom and his dynasty.

Alfred the Great had been far wiser. He had been forced at the beginning of his reign to bribe the Danes, but he soon found a better way of preventing their raids—the building of a Navy and the organisation of a strong and ever ready defensive force. By this means he saved his kingdom and brought peace to it.

Alfred's story has its moral for our zealous peaceseekers to-day. There is no guarantee for peace so sure as a strong Britain, efficiently armed and prepared for all emergencies.

Those who offer gifts to possible future enemies are not only liable, as the old Latin tag says, to create suspicion; they also invite contempt and the formulation of still further demands. The downway path to concession is all too easy and the end is speedy and complete ruin.

One might be more impressed with Mr. Thomas' declaration to the effect that the "National" Government was not contemplating the handing over of any British Colonies or mandated territories had not this same Government already followed the dictates of the Socialist part of its conscience by offering to surrender a slice of British Somaliland.

#### A Curious Coincidence

That sacrifice of the national honour was averted through Mussolini rightly rejecting our Government's futile peace gesture. But it is a curious coincidence that Ramsay MacDonald's return to the Commons should have been the occasion for talk of special peace conferences and special British concessions and for a statement by the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the effect that the Government were "largely in agreement" with Mr. Lansbury's resolution,

It looks very much as if the eyes of our Government were still being turned "up and up and up" towards Ramsay MacDonald's internationalism and away from the solid earth upon which they have to tread. They are dimly conscious of the dangers into which their stupidity (to use a mild word) has brought the nation and the Empire, but there are no signs of any considerable repentance of the foolishness which has led to woeful neglect of our defences and wilful sacrifice of the friendship of Britain's old allies—Japan first and now Italy. Ramsay MacDonald is to continue to be Baldwin's and Britain's guide to perdition.

Panic and the remains of a Conservative conscience may have forced the Government to tinker with national defence, but the old sentimental trash of League and conferences—the "bread and circuses" of an age too timid to fight—is still to be the main plank in the Government programme.

The security they visualise is not of the strong man armed, but the "collective security" of the fifty odd nations—most of them insignificant—of the League.

And when that security fails, as it is bound to do, Britain will have no other alternative but to resort to the form of Danegeld already being suggested to her—that of putting all the other Great Powers on the dole at her own and the Empire's expense,

### Defence—A House Divided

By Periscope

NLY cranks of the most dangerous variety can fail to rejoice that the defences of the Empire are to be increased. Yet thinking men cannot but be uneasy at the portents which usher in the long-awaited re-armament programme. It is axiomatic that, in times of national emergency, unease of the public mind should be avoided at all costs. Yet events show that Government Departments, and the British Government itself, so far from guarding against such a feeling, have allowed it to grow to enormous proportions and even fostered its growth. Thus, at a time when the strength of unity would seem to be of the most urgent necessity, we have a House divided against itself. Nor is the division confined to the House. The Press, the Public, all are at odds.

Who is to blame? In the first place, the Government for the dilatoriness of their so-called methods. It does not require a long memory to recall that a Minister of State made public utterance that the defence forces of the Empire had been reduced "to the edge of risk." This was said soon after the rise of Hitlerism had manifested itself in Germany's decision to withdraw from Geneva. It was then obvious that re-armament was to be the policy of the world. Germany had given earnest of her intention to repudiate the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. Russia was known to be arming at the highest possible speed. Japan had indicated that she would be no party to any further Treaty of naval limitation.

Yet in this country nothing was done for some time. Then irony in its highest form was served. The Government issued a White Paper on defence, stressing the necessity for immediate re-armament, over the signature of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. He who had contrived the "gaps in our defences" now asked to have them filled up. But that was eleven months ago. In the meantime there has been a general election at which a "National" Government has been returned to power upon the re-armament issue.

#### DISTRUST AND UNCERTAINTY

And still we await a White Paper which will disclose the programme for this long-overdue rearmament. Can it be wondered at, that, in face of such snail-like methods of procedure, cranks disseminated the doubt as to whether the "edge of risk" remark was really justified, and the safety of the Empire became an issue of party politics?

Thus the atmosphere of distrust and uncertainty was created, and in it the old controversy of air power versus sea power reared its head and flourished exceedingly. For weeks and months the champions of both creeds have been at it hammer and tongs. It now runs through the whole of public life. It is discussed in the most exclusive of clubs and at the street corners. Heresy is piled

on heresy until there is no certainty left upon any point of defence. Only one frame of mind survives—that is the desire to know whether the money asked for is to be used to the best advantage.

There can be no doubt that controversy at such a time is harmful in the extreme. Members of the House of Commons realise this and press for a Ministry of Defence. Government enquiry is urged in the House of Lords. Yet, rather than attempt to lay the controversy, Ministers take their customary shelter behind "it would not be in the public interest."

#### GROPING AFTER TRUTH

It is well known that the whole world has known the details of matters to which the British Cabinet has confessed ignorance and for which the Prime Minister, as Sir Austen Chamberlain pointed out, has twice apologised to the House. While there is no denying that to give details of experiments carried out might give valuable information to possible enemies, it should surely be possible for a Minister to state definitely that experiments of a certain type have been carried out and that certain conclusions have been formed as a result. It should surely be possible to give some indication of the extent of the enquiries made by the Committee of Imperial Defence, of the witnesses called, and of the conclusions reached.

Statements of that sort would set the public mind at rest and produce unity of purpose in the cause of re-armament. But they have not been forthcoming. Lord Monsell the other day so far unbent as to tell the House of Lords that there had been over 1,000 meetings. He spoke of meetings, but he was careful to give no indication of their scope or result. Surely it should be obvious, even to the Admiralty, that a half-statement of this sort has only two interpretations. Either the meetings were futile, or the conclusions were such that the First Lord of the Admiralty desired to suppress them.

There is no doubt among those who know something of the subject at issue that the latter interpretation is not the true one. But what of the hosts of the people, groping diligently after truth, who are not familiar with the pros. and cons? Is the Admiralty blissfully unaware that democracy places public opinion in the position of the ultimate arbiter? The tradition of dignified silence is a fine thing for the officers and men of the Navy at sea, but men are made Ministers because they have tongues, and the loss of them on being appointed to the Admiralty can do nothing but harm to the Service they are supposed to serve.

Unless the Admiralty discovers a spokesman, we shall only wake up to the need for a supreme navy when the time came to tighten our belts—when it would be too late, for navies cannot be hastily improvised.

## LADY HOUSIN



LADY HOUSTON, D.B.E.

THE damning attack by Sir Austen Chamberlain on the Prime Minister set the final seal of degradation on that politician's career.

Never in the history of politics has a leader been so flatly accused of ineptitude by his most influential "supporter."

In an earlier and braver day such a rebuke would have meant instant resignation.

Yet Sir Austen Chamberlain was only saying in Parliament what Lady Houston has said repeatedly in this journal.

He added nothing to her indictment. Some things he omitted.

Whatever else was done last Friday, one thing was done decisively. It was the justification of Lady Houston's long and courageous campaign for the truth about British armament.

Here, in 1936, we find professional politicians gravely disquieted by the state of Britain's defencelessness.

But it was in 1932 that Lady Houston, suffering from the same disquietude, offered to the National Government the sum of £200,000 for the air defence of London.

That offer has been twice repeated.

It has not only been refused, but refused in such a way that any detached observer might have thought that its acceptance would have been some unheard-of favour to the donor, instead of one of grateful relief by the acceptors.

Recently Lady Houston has disclosed that when she complained to Rudyard Kipling that she was treated as if she were a criminal, that great man replied, "You are a criminal." He knew that under our present leadership in party politics patriotism is a crime.

The whole episode is incredible.

I may disclose what Lady Houston herself has not disclosed.

The original offer of the £200,000 was not made without private consultation with a powerful member of the Cabinet.

When it was made the decision to refuse it was delayed for 14 days.

During those 14 days there was a section of the Government which was anxious that this patriotic munificence should be accepted with the gratitude it deserved.

But a more powerful section insisted upon Lady Houston's public spirit being rebuffed.

#### DEFENCELESS BRITAIN

The Saturday Review in the face of manifold menaces and actual restraints has consistently impugned the capacity of the Government to give Britain the defences it needs, and has questioned the motives behind the policy which has left these islands naked to our enemies.

Sir Austen Chamberlain on Friday in stressing the inexplicable "errors" of policy to which Mr. Baldwin has confessed virtually repeated the substance of an article from the present writer's pen that had appeared that very morning. The speech and the article were tantamount to a charge of treason, of failing to perform the elementary duties of the

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### "HISTORICUS"

high office which Mr. Baldwin has disgraced. There was sufficient undisputed evidence in that charge to justify impeachment.

When in 1932 Lady Houston's offer to pay for the defence of London was refused she was not solitary in her recognition of the parlous state to which we had been reduced. From 1932 to 1934 public alarm continued to grow. Mr. Baldwin himself was constrained to admit two years ago that arms were our need.

But in 1936, and only in 1936, is action being contemplated that shall have the appearance of repairing the "error" of the past.

### THE SAME

AND THAT ACTION IS TO BE TAKEN BY THE SAME OLD GANG THAT HAS HITHERTO FAILED TO TAKE ACTION.

A co-ordinating Minister is to be appointed for the defensive services, but he is to be the complacent lackey of the junta whose lack of knowledge and whose failure to act is the scandal his appointment is supposed to cover.

Avid of office, shameless in subterfuge, the betrayers of Britain's safety cling like limpets to their posts.

Parliamentary ignominy does not disturb them. Lobby intrigue cannot shift them.

Under the political system of our time public indignation cannot unseat them.

But let Mr. Baldwin and his colleagues beware. If there should come a time—and by the confession of many leading soldiers, sailors, airmen and statesmen that time is perilously near—if, I say, there should ever come a time when the people of Great Britain are brought to catastrophe by the venial neglect



SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

of the indolent and stupid men who have betrayed their trust, the vengeance will be condign.

Mr. Baldwin and his friends live in a world of words, a make-believe world of conferences and personal loyalties.

In Berlin, in Rome, there are men of action.

There are still, thank God, men of action in Britain.

It is to them that the prattlers of Whitehall will have to answer if their sloth and folly bring upon us disaster that could have been avoided by reasonable foresight.

In that day an outraged public will not only ask how, but why, they were thus betrayed.

To treat the patriotism of Lady Houston as a social crime may have amused the English puppets of Stalin in 1932: it will be not the lightest charge in the final indictment when Britain brings her betrayers to reckoning in the day of disaster.

### Baldwin's Decline—and Fall?

#### By Robert Machray

F course Sir Austen Chamberlain performed a most useful public service last week by his damning exposure of the utter incompetence of Mr. Baldwin as Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence. But the value of that service to the country would have been greatly enhanced if Sir Austen had gone a step farther, and commented as sharply on the Prime Minister's utter incompetence in respect of foreign policy.

There were reasons, however, very illuminating reasons, why Sir Austen refrained from taking that step farther. If he had taken it people might have said, perhaps unkindly but quite truthfully, that here was a case of pot and kettle, or of Satan rebuking sin. To Sir Austen's lack of firmness towards China in 1925, when he was Foreign Secretary, is fundamentally due the worsening and possible loss of the once-magnificent position we held in the Far East. And it was he who in 1927, still Foreign Secretary, did not hesitate to say that his "aim was to make war more and more impossible, and although that stage had not been reached, every session of the League Assembly brought the prospect nearer and lessened the risks"

#### Strange Sentiments

"War more and more impossible with every session of the League"—how strange such a sentence sounds in our ears to-day! It may be urged in Sir Austen's defence that it was uttered nine years ago, and he could not forecast the future, yet that was what in effect he was doing—and doing all wrong. Since then, Japan and Germany have withdrawn from the League, which was impotent to stop them from going on with their policies, and Italy is engaged in war with Abyssinia and fights the League's Sanctions, whose repercussions may bring about another Great War. Only the other day, Sir Austen extolled Geneva in the League of Nations Union, though he had listened shortly before to that grave indictment of Baldwin's policy in Sir Samuel Hoare's post-resignation speech.

But the principal reason why Sir Austen did not refer to the Prime Minister's utter incompetence with respect to foreign policy was the plain fact that if he, one of the leading Conservatives with a large following in the country, had done so, it would have been equivalent to telling the world that Baldwin must go, as he was far too much of a failure to continue to hold his high position. Still clinging to the League, which Baldwin has not yet renounced as the sheet anchor and keystone of British policy, Sir Austen could not bring himself to do it. But surely it must have been at the back of his mind.

Even to the plain man the large rearmament programme which the country will have to carry out for its security as soon as possible must tell him that Baldwin's foreign policy is a failure, and it should be made clear to him, though he should see it for himself, that Baldwin's failure results from the failure of the Geneva Institution. During this week the League, in the shape of its large Secretariat, is moving into the Palais des Nations, the huge ensemble of buildings erected for it in Ariana Park on the headland above Prégny.

#### " A New Era"

It is characteristic of the League's partisans that they should speak of this move as "initiating a new era." And this at a time when the League was never more visibly a failure than it is now—all in keeping with that irrony which so often accompanies even the best-intentioned efforts. The League has been functioning, at any rate after a fashion, for some fifteen years as an instrument of peace, appeasement and reconciliation, in consonance with undoubtedly foolish ideals. And what do we behold? Most of all, that those ideals, however fine they are, are not practical politics. They are divorced from the realities of the situation.

In his speech on Friday of last week, the position was justly described by Mr. Vyvyan Adams, a Conservative who in the past has voted against his party on armaments, and whose words have therefore much weight in this connection, as a "rapidly deteriorating European situation." He now goes all out for British rearmament because that situation imperatively demands a strong England for the maintenance of her own security, a security which the League cannot give her. Now this is the absolute antithesis of Baldwin's policy of the sheet-anchor, the keystone and all the rest of that bag of tricks.

#### The Varnishing Trick

Other nations are losing or have lost their faith in the League. This is the meaning, of course, of those mutual assistance agreements and regional pacts which now fill the air, however much those making them allege that they are "within the framework of the League"—a phrase used like a shining but opaque varnish for veiled political alliances not strictly in unison with the high and mighty principles of Geneva at all, for in essence they are preparations for war. And in the existing state of things small blame may be attached to them: the merit of the States acting in this manner is that, realising the position at least two years ago, they have rearmed.

That is what England, under Baldwin's direction and practical control, has not done. This is his condemnation. Baldwin is not finished yet, but can the end be long delayed?

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### A Rogue in Grey

By Dan Russell

THE grey squirrel sat high up in the swaying branches of a beech tree. Quite at ease he was, sitting there with his four paws clinging tightly to the slender branch beneath him. His sharp little eyes peered inquisitively to right and left as they strove to pierce the screen of leaves below. He looked a playful, engaging little beast. His bushy tail was curled over his back in the shape of a question mark. His head was rabbit-like and small. His paws like tiny hands. In colour he was grey, flecked with auburn. But his character was not in keeping with his appearance. Quarrelsome he was and spiteful, a despoiler of nests and killer of fledglings, and, amongst his own kind, an incessant fighter. Long ago these woods had been the home of the gentle red squirrels, but since the coming of the greys they had either fled or died. There was no chance for them when the American greys arrived in the woods.

The grey squirrel peered about him. His nose told him that somewhere near a bird was sitting on her nest. He moved an inch or two further along the branch and then he saw it some ten feet below him, the neat, mud-lined nest of a thrush, and upon it the sitting bird.

#### Robber of the Nest

Quietly he turned upon his narrow branch, balancing himself with his tail as he did so. Then he crept back to the main trunk and ran down head-first to the branch where the nest was situated. He crept stealthily along this bough, his eyes fixed greedily on the nest. Never yet had he succeeded in catching an adult bird, but he was ever optimistic.

The thrush watched him with fearful eyes as he approached. Though terrified, she did not leave her precious eggs until the little ruffian was within a yard of her. Then with agitated screams she flew off and fluttered around his head. He chattered angrily at her as she flew near him, then, as if realising that she could do no harm, he went on to the nest.

Four blue, black-spotted eggs were there, and these he ate. Very pretty he looked while at this robber's work. He held each egg between his hand-like fore-paws and carefully bit off the top. Then with his flexible pink tongue he licked out the contents. When he had finished, the nest held only scraps of broken shell. The squirrel licked his lips and returned to the main stem of the tree.

Later on that morning he found another nest with three fledglings in it. These went the same way as the eggs. This was the time of year when he was almost wholly carnivorous. When the nesting season was over he would turn to a diet of green shoots, roots and nuts, but these he only ate when he could not get meat.

During his journeys about the wood he seldom touched the ground. His mastery of balance was perfect. At a run he darted from branch to branch, head-first down a tree-trunk then to the very end of a bough, a leap through space and he was clinging to another tree. And now it could be seen that his bushy tail was not solely for ornament. Indeed, he could not have climbed without it, for it was his balancing-pole and rudder. In those headlong leaps from branch to branch he steered and controlled himself by his tail. Did he miss his hold and fall a yard or two, then his tail helped to break his fall. Without it he would have been a clumsy, helpless little rat.

Late in the afternoon the squirrel tired of the tree-tops and descended to the ground to see what he could find. He discovered a spot where a picnic party had left a few scraps of bread. He was nibbling a crust when there was a bark behind him. He did not wait to see the dog, but ran for his life. But in his panic he ran away from his own part of the wood. Over the road he dashed and up a tree on the other side. The dog bayed angrily at the tree and the squirrel swore at him.

#### Forbidden Territory

Now that he was in the tree-tops again he was safe. This part of the wood was new to him so he went exploring. For a long time he swung in the trees and gazed inquisitively around him. But his troubles were not yet over.

Suddenly he heard an angry chattering below him and turned to see another squirrel racing up the tree-trunk towards him.

Now there is a very old law among the squirrels that each shall keep to his own appointed portion of the woods. Our squirrel knew he was a trespasser. He waited not but fled incontinent, and behind him came his wrathful pursuer.

Through the branches they scurried, now up, now down, leaping, running and crawling in places where there seemed to be no foothold. At last the fugitive reached the trees bordering the road. Here he paused, for before him was a seven foot leap. He marked his landing place and jumped.

As he did so a gust of wind blew aside his chosen branch. His tiny feet clutched and missed. He fell with a thud to the roadway and lay very still.

A motor car pulled up and a little girl and a man alighted. The man picked him up. "Oh! poor darling," cried the child, "he looks so sweet."

The little body stirred, the beady eyes opened. With a lightning movement he bit the man's finger to the bone, ran to his shoulder and jumped for a branch.

The man yelled with pain. "Darling!" he shouted, "little devil you mean."

The rogue in grey turned and chattered at him from a lofty bough.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE

#### The League of Blood

SIR,—The Hoare-Laval peace proposals were received ith "intolerant hubbub" while "public emotion suffered from one of its classic aberrations last December, as The Observer remarks. The Emperor of Abyssinia rejected the proposals by return.

In the Observer a contributor describes an interview with Signor Mussolini. When asked if the peace proposals would have been regarded as a suitable basis for negotiation, Signor Mussolini said "Yes. I had already drafted a captious formula of acceptance as a basis of negotiation. The Council of Ministers which would have been asked to approve it, was sitting when the news came that you gentlemen in London, who had praised Sir Samuel Hoare so highly in September, had dismissed him with ignominy on 19th December. As a direct result of your action much Ethiopian and some Italian blood has been needlessly shed and more treasure must be spent. You have lessly shed and more treasure must be spent. You have prolonged the war: a great responsibility lies on you; for the proposals had the collective approval of the French and British cabinets before they reached me."

League of Nations Union intensive propaganda with its parrot cry "rewarding the aggressor," thus causing mass hysteria, is solely responsible for the failure of its parrot cry these peace negotiations.

A SUBSCRIBER.

#### Awakening the People

It is quite refreshing to read the Saturday Review now and see the truth about the defenceless state of our country exposed fearlessly.

The destinies of our country are in timid hands, and it is doubtless the intention of providence that the Baldwin-Macdonald "junta" was necessary to bring about the awakening of our people to their parlous condition in the face of an armed and antagonistic Europe.

I remember that Lord Milner refused to support this Alien League saying, "We have our own League. Why not make it strong?" The ideal League would be one of the Anglo-Saxon race, and events may drive us together.

T. P. BARRINGTON,

Lt.-Colonel.

16, Sutherland Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea.

#### Anti-Italian Cartoons

DEAR MADAM.

Your excellent contemporary The Patriot, 16 January, while commenting on cartoon attacks by the Italian press says:—" It is not for us, however, to object to such cartoons after what appeared in *Punch* last week, the work of Mr. Charles Green. This is a completely offensive caricature of Mussolini in an entanglement of barbed wire with the caption 'The Way of an Eagle' quoting his words 'Every war, especially a colonial war, has its absolutely necessary pauses.'

"There is some excuse for the Italian press for taking a strong line against Great Britain for the part played in the application of sanctions, but there is none for a well-known periodical like *Punch* having a cartoon which well might have done duty in the pages of the *Daily Herald* and especially the *Daily Worker*. This *Punch* cartoon is thoroughly objectionable."

In a later number of *Punch* appears a still more objectionable and disgusting cartoon by Mr. Charles Green depicting Italy using poison gas against an Abyssinian native headed "When Knights were Bold," which is sheer League of Nations Union propaganda. The evidence of the use of poison gas is at present from Abyssinian sources and inconclusive. Moreover, have we not ourselves a military department for the research into

the use of poison gas? So we can hardly throw stones at Italy.

The Italians will never forgive Britain for these  $t_{W0}$  artoons. The fact of the staff of Punch passing them for cartoons. publication shows that they are still suffering from the hysteria worked up by the Socialists and the League of Nations Union which attacked most of the British Press during Sir Samuel Hoare's peace proposals.

Why should Mr. Punch be obsessed by a remote Colonial war? He took the Boer war very calmly. In the present crisis our old familiar Mr. Punch would have drawn patriotic cartoons of John Bull defenceless in a barbed wire entanglement of foreign armaments; and Stalin and the Commintern spraying poison Bolshevik gas among our British miners and transport workers instead of the two repulsive cartoons referred to above.

Alas! Some of our journalists cannot see the wood

A SUBSCRIBER.

#### University Votes

SIR,—The law of the land decided long ago that the ballot is secret. Very well—why allow for University seats the anomaly of students having to append their names on their voting papers?

At the recent polling for Scottish Combined Univer-sities, the return of Ramsay MacDonald would not otherwise have happened.

I see that Ramsay MacDonald did not dare to call him self National Labour at the recent bye-election. He dropped the label "Labour." Does this end entirely his old allegiance? If so, let him be honest and say what Party he now belongs to.

London, W.C.1.

#### The Poisons Board Report

Much protest has been made regarding Rule 29 of this Report. This Rule, so far as Chemists are concerned, would restrict the manufacture of certain poisons to the supervision of Members of the Institute of Chemistry.

This Institute represents only 40 per cent. of chemists, and the Rules must be amended to include the other 60 per cent.—the majority—who are qualified by membership of the British Association of Chemists and by University Degrees in Chemistry, etc.

No single chemical society fully represents the profession, and it is highly unjust that chemists, because they are not members of one particular body, should be excluded.

If Rule 29 is not amended to increase its scope, many chemists, fully trained and qualified, will be unable to obtain certain classes of work and we shall have, in effect, unemployment by Act of Parliament.

Individual chemists look to the Press and, through the Press, to the public, for aid to ensure that their struggle for fair treatment and justice meets with success.

" CHEMICAL PRACTITIONER."

I. H. C. BROOKING.

#### The Air Peril

SIR,-

Here we lie, of all lands the most rich and most easy

As we were in the time of the Saxon, the Dane, and

the Jute,
When by slackness and internal strife and the
"Ethelred will"

were harried and slain. And, by God! we have Ethelreds still.

2, The Park, Mitcham.

#### **CORRESPONDENCE**

#### "Hushing Up" the Truth

SIR,-It is now over a month since the Archbishop of SIK,—It is now over a month since the Archbishop of Canterbury claimed that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Tithe-Rent Charge had been secretly disclosed to him. Since then other interested parties have been vainly pressing the Government to publish the Commission's report.

The Royal Commission under the Chairman and the Chairma

The Royal Commission, under the Chairmanship of a distinguished international lawyer, sat for fourteen months, during which it made an exhaustive inquiry into all aspects of this vexed question. It is pertinent to ask what right the Government now has to pigeon-hole the report because some of its conclusions are presumedly embarrassing to it.

embarrassing to it.

This in itself is bad enough; but to disclose its contents to one interested party while denying this information to others is an absolutely indefensible action which deserves the strongest condemnation. Not only is it unfair to tithe-payers but to tithe-owners as well, who are left in the dark as to their probable future. This present Government seems to get more inscriptions Dorset.

#### What MacDonald Urges

SIR,-In July, 1917, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald called upon us to follow Russia, and also said that we must not refuse to answer that appeal. What are we to follow?

It is the aims of Russia as given in the six points set out below.

- I. The abolition of Monarchy, and all ordered Government.
- II. Abolition of Private Property.
- III. Abolition of Inheritance.
- Abolition of Patriotism.
- V. Abolition of the family (i.e., Marriage and all morality, and the institution of the Communal education of children).
- Abolition of all Religion.

The first of these has begun. Nos. II-VI are in process of being carried out in this country.

The above was the Creed of the "Illuminati" founded by Adam Weishaupt, who took the name of "Spartacus," on May 1st, 1776, which played a great part in the French Revolution of 1789 ending in the Reign of Terror. The Bolsheviks are the lineal descendants, as they began the Russian Revolution where the French left off, namely in wholesale murder.

Is it this we are exhorted to follow?

How far are our Leaders at the beck and call of the Soviet ?

Is it for this end that one of them is called "LENIN'S MOUTHPIECE " A. GARWAY ATKINS, Vicar. Palling, Norwich.

#### A Memorial to King George

SIR,—As a memorial worthy of our late King, may I suggest a statue, similar in size to the statue of Liberty outside New York, might be erected on the cliff near Lee, overlooking the Solent, and facing South towards the

It was here our beloved King spent several of his most enjoyable days each year. It was here he reviewed his Fleet, and, being a sea King, he would here remain amongst his men for all time.

If it were erected and floodlit every night, it would be 20 miles out to sea and from along Portsdown

People arriving in or leaving England would have a glorious view of it, and those coming from the Empire would be for ever reminded of the answer given King George's last noble words, "All is well, Sir, with the Empire."

H. W. WOOLLETT.

Godalming, Surrey.

#### Efforts of Scottish Unemployed

[From The Earl of Elgin, K.T., C.M.G.] SIR,—Imagination does not readily accept the idea that distress and unemployment can exist side by side with honest willing craftsmanship; but it is a stern and grim fact.

Further, a period of long drawn out unemployment has undoubtedly a numbing effect on industrial enterprise; so it is cheering to be reassured that in Scotland, at any rate, hard times have not frozen initiative or led to a falling off in native skill.

Not only Scottish readers of the Saturday Review but

all who are eager to see the fog of depression dispelled from those areas upon which it has settled for so long should seize the opportunity to visit the display of house-hold goods and furniture which is now on view at British Industries House next door to Marble Arch.

The display is open daily from 10 to 6 and admission is

Here proof of interprise and skill is most graphically

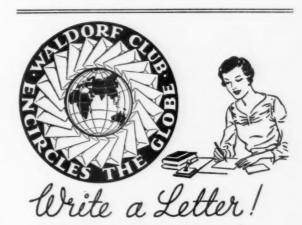
given by an appeal to the eye.

The organisers have recognised the value of London as a trading centre and the utility of British Industries House as a point of contact.

It is a plucky effort to reach the markets of the world

through the springboard of the Metropolis.

ELGIN, President, Scottish National Development Council. 7, Chesterfield Street, W.1.



### **BUT BE SURE TO USE**

Your thoughts, like your pen, will flow more freely when you write on Waldorf Club Notepaper. It's a joy to write on its beautifully glazed surface—a surface that is entirely free from "grease." Waldorf Club Notepaper and Envelopes can be obtained from all Stationers and Stores, including branches of Boots Ltd. (Stationery Dept.) and W. H. Smith & Son Ltd.



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#### RACING

### **Bad Weather Hardships**

#### By David Learmonth

If we have any more of the recent weather we may have to look for the Grand National winner not necessarily among the best horses, but among those which their trainers have been able to get thoroughly fit. This should logically eliminate all those animals which are of doubtful soundness and so difficult to train.

There are only five weeks now before the Liverpool event. This is long enough to bring to the post in fighting trim horses which are fairly forward in condition; but if work is held up again, those whose preparation has been differently timed are bound to suffer.

I do not recollect any season when racing has been held up for so long a period at so inconvenient a time nor when training grounds at this critical period in the year have suffered so universally.

The loss involved is considerable. In stakes alone, up to the time of writing, owners have had to forego over £30,000, while jockeys have lost about £10,000 in fees between them. Since most trainers, in addition to their weekly fees, charge ten per cent. of all stakes won, they are also financial losers.

#### Hard Hit

Meanwhile expenses, with the exception of entry fees for the thirty-eight programmes which have been abandoned and travelling charges, have not fallen. Horses must still be fed and groomed, while even trainers and jockeys must eat. The whole situation, in fact, may be likened to a gigantic commercial concern which has to maintain a large staff while not transacting any business.

Betting owners have been hit even harder and the same applies to some trainers who, owing to the keen competition and the fact that there really seem to be too many, find it difficult to make ends meet on the weekly charge per horse which they are able to impose. It must be remembered that many smaller trainers, particularly those who are still trying to make a name for themselves, cannot demand the same charges as their more fashionable brethren.

I have little sympathy with the owner who depends upon betting; and in the case of trainers I will be the first to admit that the system is wrong and likely to lead to abuses. But the fact remains that it exists and, as things are at present, it is difficult to see how it can be remedied. The National Hunt Committee might refuse to grant more licenses to trainers; but there would be an immediate outcry if they did this, and their efforts to restrict the numbers would inevitably lead to accusations of favouritism, and even worse on the part of disappointed applicants.

From the point of view of the public, a great deal of extremely interesting sport has recently been missed, with the result that the Grand National prospects of the majority of the candidates are plunged in obscurity. Consequently, there is practically no anti-post betting on the race at the moment—everybody wishes to wait and see.

I doubt if this will ultimately affect bookmakers, as the rush of money will probably come later. But there is this to be said, that to all intents and purposes, only two horses are being backed at all, Golden Miller and Reynoldstown, which renders the making of a book very awkward and exposes bookmakers to the risk of heavy loss unless the situation opens up. The starting price firms are in the same position as owners and trainers, they still have to keep on their staffs while doing no business, while, to a far lesser degree, the course bookmakers are in the same boat.

This is a suitable occasion to discuss more academic matters and, those interested in racing who are now prevented from attending the course might profitably study the bill which Mr. A. P. Herbert is introducing into Parliament.

Some time ago a Royal Commission sat upon betting. In due course it submitted its report which was presumedly studied by the Government. The report was evidently not exactly what the Cabinet had hoped of the Commission, so it was put on the shelf.

#### Why Ask for Advice?

Mr. Herbert has taken the not unreasonable view that if a Government appoints a Royal Commission it should do what the Commission advises. If it does not do so, what is the object in wasting the country's money at all? It cannot be honest for Ministers to appoint such a body and then say to themselves, "We are prepared to introduce legislation after the findings are known, provided the Commission says what we want it to say."

Mr. Herbert's bill deals chiefly with the question of street betting, that innocuous amusement the suppression of which takes up so much of the time of the police, who might be occupied in tracking down criminals and eliminating monsters of the type of the late Max Kassel.

From the point of view of increasing the attendances on race courses, I do not believe, as I have said before, in overdoing the facilities for betting from home. But that is a very different thing from making a crime where no crime exists. It must also be remembered that street betting will never be stamped out however hard the police work, that it is in just as flourishing a condition to-day as it was years ago, and that a large proportion of the money comprising big "jobs" goes on the street. The bill, as I read it, will provide for boxes

The bill, as I read it, will provide for boxes similar to letter boxes into which cash and betting slips could be inserted in envelopes, and will permit money to be sent by post.

#### New Books I can Recommend

#### BY THE LITERARY CRITIC

THE last few years have witnessed several attempts to reverse the very unfavourable verdicts of Thackeray and Greville on the Hanoverians, and more particularly on the sons of "Farmer George."

The latest of these attempts is one by Mr. Herbert Van Thal, and is concerned with a Prince who was regarded by his English contemporaries as perhaps the most sinister of Queen Victoria's "wicked uncles" ("Ernest, Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover," Barker, illustrated, 12s. 6d.).

If the Duke of Kent had not married somewhat late in life, the Duke of Cumberland would have been heir to his brother William IV on the English throne.

As it was on William's death he became automatically, under the Salic Law, King of Hanover, thus separating the two crowns of England and Hanover.

He appeared rather loath to leave England on Queen Victoria's accession, but the Duke of Wellington gave him what he must have realised was very sound advice.

"The best thing you can do is to go away as fast as you can. Go instantly and take care you are not pelted."

Few Royal Princes have been involved in more unsavoury scandals than the Duke of Cumberland, and it may be, as his biographer stoutly maintains, that he was the victim throughout of malicious falsehoods and singular misfortune.

Courage he certainly possessed in high degree, and it must be said of him that if he was rather an unfortunate counseller of his brother George IV and if he showed more obstinacy than discretion in his interference in English politics, he made an excellent King of Hanover, and when other thrones in Germany in 1848 were tottering, his own was secure in the affections of a people who looked up to him as "the land's true father."

#### **Five Eighteenth Century Brothers**

Colonel the Hon. Arthur C. Murray has been delving into old family records, and as the result of his pious researches, has been able to tell us the stories of the notable eighteenth century careers of five Murray brothers, all sons of the fourth Lady Elibank ("The Five Sons of Bare Betty," Murray, illustrated, 10s. 6d.).

"Bare Betty" came by her nickname through the rebuke she administered to an Edinburgh minister who had the affrontery to address her while in her teens as "Betty Stirling!"

"Mistress Betty or Miss Betty was the style of address to which she was accustomed, but certainly not bare Betty," she is said to have reminded the disrespectful divine.

All her five sons appeared to have inherited her spirit. The two most famous of them were

Alexander, who defied and broke the power of the House of Commons to compel kneeling at the bar and who was involved in the last of the Jacobite plots; and James, one of Wolfe's brigadiers at the capture of Quebec and subsequently the first British Governor of Canada, where he did much to reconcile the French Canadians to British rule.

#### German Study of Burns

It is curious that seventeen years should have elapsed before someone was found to translate into English Professor Hans Hecht's study of Burns—curious because this is undoubtedly one of the best books on the life and work of Scotland's national poet ("Robert Burns," Hodge, translated by Jane Lymburn, 12s. 6d.).

Professor Hecht modestly claims for himself that while as a foreigner his vision of Burns may be less acute than that of a Scotch or English biographer, it is likely to be also less affected by bias in any direction.

"We all know that too close proximity obscures the vision and that too great love blinds the judgment as much as too violent antipathy. In the case of Burns there is the further difficulty that the controversial points move along the dangerous lines of sexuality, alcoholism, religion, politics and class prejudices or preferences. But no man is inviolable viewed from the purely human standpoint, and what would Burns be without the often unguarded vitality of his human qualities?"

He presents Burns in his proper eighteenth century background, and while he declines to over-emphasise his many failings as a man, he also refuses to accept the legend of his being a wholly untutored bard. For the rest:—

"If certain Hotspurs of our days believe they can dismiss Burns as a poet of purely local importance, they are, in my opinion, making a fatal blunder, not for him, but for themselves. Burns belongs to the very few poets who were capable of symbolism; who had the gift of being able to grasp and to form the fleeting incident sub specie aeternitatis. Therein lies the guarantee for the lasting value of his work."

#### A Gibbon Biography

Since the 'nineties when Gibbon's own autobiography was first published, there has been a considerable amount of material available for the study of the life and work of the author of the famous "Decline and Fall."

Dr. R. B. Mowat in his "Gibbon" (Arthur Barker, 10s.) is interested in the man rather than in the author of a classic history. And he finds in this somewhat corpulent little man of four feet eight inches much to praise and admire.

Like many men of small stature, "the Gibbon," he admits, was not without his vanities.

"Fond of company and particularly of ladies' society, he liked in a drawing-room to place himself in front of the fireplace and, tapping his snuff-box, to hold forth with sententious wit to the assembled guests....
"Nevertheless everybody who came in contact with

"Nevertheless, everybody who came in contact with Gibbon felt there was a genuine soul of loyalty, wisdom and large charity in him. He was essentially humane, broad-minded and kind; and he retained all his life the simplicity, the unself-conscious sincerity of feeling and affection which is characteristic of the best natures. If it is fair for a man to be judged according to his friend-ships and social respect, Gibbon comes out of the test with flying colours."

#### LATEST FICTION

TCELAND has provided us with two excellent novels. The first to appear was "The Virgin of Skalholt," by Gudmunder Kamban (Nicholson and Watson, 8/6), a beautiful and moving story of seventeenth century Iceland, told by a writer who not only knows his history, but is able to give reality to his picture of a long distant past

The second is Halldor Laxness' "Salka Valka" (Allen and Unwin, 8/6) which tells of the harsh conditions of life in one bleak and desolate corner of modern Iceland, with its main theme the courage of a young girl in battling against the difficulties that confront her in her struggle for existence, in her efforts to elude the ruffian who pursues her and in her hopeless love affair with a weak and wayward idealist. The story is impressive for the vividness of its presentation both of character and scene.

Mr. Edwin Lanham's "The Wind Blew West" (Heinemann, 8/6) is somewhat in the "Covered Wagon" tradition, transporting us to a town in Texas in the period following the American Civil War, with the savage Red Indian prominent among the perils to be faced.

Most of the characters in "Idle Hands" (by Edward Charles, Faber) are very modern and rather unaccountable, but the story reads well.

Mr. Hylton Cleaver's "Double Room" (Methuen) is a very entertaining book that displays a remarkable insight into adolescent mentality.

"Atmosphere for Gloria," by Maribel Edwin (Hodder & Stoughton) is an attractive and rather unusual study in feminine character.

In "Rider in the Sun" (Melrose, 6/-) Mr. Edmund Ware tells a charming story of the fulfilment of an American boy's dreams.

Miss Kathleen Norris is a novelist who knows just what her public wants and who continues to supply its needs. Her "Secret Marriage" (Murray) is sure of a warm welcome.

Among the lighter novels I can also recommend "Susan Settles Down" by B. Mollett (Stanley Paul).

#### Adventure, Crime and Mystery

"Marcel Armand," by Sallie Lee Bell (Denis Archer) is a stirring adventure story of the eighteenth century.

Edmund Snell gives us romance and plenty of incident in "Across the Frontier" (Ward, Lock), the tale of an Englishman's entanglement in a Nazi frontier raid.

In "Unlawful Occasions" by J. E. Pile (Heinemann) we have exciting sea adventures with more than one hero but no heroine.

Miss Elaine Hamilton in telling a mystery story is as much concerned with character as she is with thrills and this invests "The Casino Mystery" (Ward, Lock) with a special interest.

Other crime and adventure books worth reading are: "Sea Scandal," by Kathleen Lindsay (Jenkins), "Drums over Africa," by Derek Temple (Melrose) and "The House of En-Dor" by Anne Hosking (Stanley Paul).

#### MOTORING

#### A Bubble Pricked

BY SEFTON CUMMINGS

A S though to celebrate the centenary of the estimable Macadam, which falls this year, the Government have recently announced a "monster road-making programme involving an expenditure of thirty millions." This is to be just a first instalment of the gigantic hundred millions five-year road plan which the Government trumpeted from the house-tops during the general election.

That people were in the least impressed by such dishonest propaganda is merely an added proof that present-day politicians can bamboozle the public at will, for the simplest addition will convince anyone that to spend a hundred millions in five years is to spend at the rate of twenty millions a year, which is what the Government have been doing. So this much-vaunted pledge, or whatever the mandarins called it, meant exactly nothing at all

Actually last year motorists contributed £32,000,000 which should have gone to the road fund. The Treasury promptly misappropriated £5,000,000, while another £7,000,000 was "saved."

This left £20,000,000 to be spent on the roads. It will be seen, therefore, that the Government's promise, so far from being a great advance, seems more of a pledge to continue to misappropriate

thirty-five per cent. of the motorists' money, money moreover which it was definitely promised would be earmarked specifically for the road fund.

I believe someone laid it down as an axiom that one cannot fool all the people all the time. certainly looks as though the Government can fool all motorists ad infinitum. In fact, I often wonder what those associations which are supposed to coordinate the views of motorists and express them forcibly in the proper quarters are doing. thought at least that they would have drawn the attention of all their members to this matter and, as the Government of to-day seems to be influenced entirely by the number of post-cards it receives, the number of communications which would have been received from a body which collectively can contribute thirty-two millions to the revenue from one tax alone would surely have started Mr. Baldwin repudiating himself with even more than Who knows? He might even his usual vigour. have come forward hat in hand and confessed to having " made a mistake."

Motorists have for too long put up with unreasonable persecution and broken pledges. It is high time that they realised that collectively they could wield enormous political power. A threat towards the end of the year to lay up every car and refuse to renew the licence until grievances were redressed would have a very serious affect on the Government, who would not only be faced with a loss of revenue but with a dislocation of industry

and increased unemployment.

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#### The "SATURDAY REVIEW" REGISTER OF

#### SELECTED HOTELS LICENSED

A BERFELDY, Perthshire. — Station Hotel. Rec., 2. Pens., 4 to 5 gns. Tennis, golf, fishing, bowling.

A LEXANDRIA, Dumbartonshire.—Albert Lun. 2s. 6d. Din., 3s. 6d. Fishing, Loch Lomond.

A VIEMORE, Inverness-shire.—Aviemore Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 4. Pens., 5 gns. to 10 gns. Golf, Private. Fishing, shooting, riding, tennis.

A YLESBURY. — Bull's Head Hotel, A Market Square. Bed., 24; Rec., 4. Pens., 4 gns. W.E., £2/7/6. Garden, golf, tennis, bowls, fishing.

Bamburgh, Northumberland-Victoria Hotel, Rec., 3. Pens., 6 gns. Tennis, golf, shooting fishing.

BELFAST-Kensington Hotel, Bed., 76; Rec., 5. Pens., 4 gns.; W.E., Sat. to Mon., 27/6. Golf, 10 mins., 2/6.

BLACKPOOL.-Grand Hotel. H. & C.

BOURNE END, Bucks.—The Spade Oak Hotel. Bed., 20. Rec., 4 and bar. Pens., 5 to 7 gns. Tennis, golf, bathing.

BOWNESS-ON-WINDERMERE. Rigg's Crown Hotel. Pens., 5 gns. to 7 gns. Golf, 11 miles. Yachting, fishing.

BRACKNELL, Berkshire.—Station Hotel Bed., 7; Rec., 2. Pens., 31 to 4 gns. W.E., Sat. to Mon., 2 gns. Golf, riding.

PRIGHTON, Sussex.—Sixty-six Hotel.— Bed., 33; Rec., 5; Pens., from 4½ gns W.E. from 32/6. Golf, 9 courses in vicinity Tenis, bathing, boating, polo, hunting.

PROADSTAIRS, Kent. — Grand Hotel. Pens., from 5 gns. W.E., from £1 per day. Lun., 4/6; Din., 6/6. Golf, tennis. bathing, dancing.

BURFORD, OXON.—The Lamb Hotel. Bed., 12; Rec., 3; Pena., 4 gns. to 5 gns. W.E., 15/- per day. Golf, trout fating, riding, bunting.

BURY ST. EDMUNDS, Suffolk.—Angel Hotel. Bed., 35; Rec., 2. Pens., 5 pst., W.E., 2 gns. Lun., 3/6; Din., 5/6, gdf, fishing, racing.

CALLANDER, Perthshire. — Trossachs Hotel, Trossachs. Bed., 60. Pens., fr. gns. Lun., 3/6; Din., 6/-. Golf, fishing.

CAMBRIDGE.—Garden House Hotel, nr. Pembroke College. Pens., 31 to 5 gns. W.E., 14/- to 17/6 per day. Golf, 3 miles; bosting, tennis.

CARDIFF. — Park Hotel, Park Place. Bed., 115; Rec., 4. Pens., 7 gns. W.E. (8at. Lun. to Mon. Brkfst.), 37/6. Golf.

CLOVELLY.—New Inn, High Street.— C Bed., 30; Rec., 1. Pens., 5 to 6 gns. Golf, fishing, sea bathing.

CLYNDERWEN. — Castle Hotel, Maer-clochey. Pens., £2 10/-. Lun., 1/6; Din., 2/6. Golf, 12 miles away.

COMRIE, Perthshire. — Ancaster Arms W.E., 12/- per day. Tennis, golf, fishing, bwls.

CONISTON, ENGLISH LAKES.— The Waterhead Hotel. Pens., from £5 10/-. Golf, boating, putting green, tennis.

DOWNDERRY, CORNWALL—Sea View, Bed., 9. Annexe 5. Pens., from 31 ms. W.E., from 35/-. Golf, fishing, tennis.

DULVERTON, Som. (border of Devon). Lion Hotel. Pens., 4 gns., W.E., 12/6 per day. Golf, 3 miles. Fishing, riding, tunting, tennis.

DUNDEE. — The Royal British Hotel is the best. H. & C. in all bedrooms. Restaurant, managed by Prop. Phone: 5095.

ELY, Cambs.—The Lamb Hotel. Bed., 20; Rec., 5. Pens., 5 gns. W.E., \$2 15/-

PALMOUTH, Cornwall. — The Manor House Hotel, Budock Vean. Bed., 46; Rec., 2. Pens., from 5 gns. to 8 gns. Golf. boating, fishing, tennis.

CLASGOW, W.2.—Belhaven Hotel, 22 to 26 Belhaven Torrace. Bed., 66; Rec., 6. Pens., from £3 5/-. Lun., 3/-; Din., 5/-. Tennis, golf.

CLASGOW, C.2.—Grand Hotel, 550, Sauchieball St., Charing Cross. Bed., 110. Pens., 6 gns.; W.E., 18/6 per day. Tennis courts adjacent. God, 1/- per round.

CREAT MALVERN, Worcestershire.— Royal Foley Hotel. Bed., 32; Rec., 3. Pens., from 5 to 7 gns.; W.E., 18/- to 17/6 day. Golf, putting green.

CULLANE, East Lothian. — Bisset's Hotel. Bed., 25; Rec., 5. Pens., 4 to 6 gns. W.E., 14'- to 16'- per day. Tennis courts. Golf, swimming, riding, bowling.

HAMILTON, Lanarkshire, Scotland.— from 3 gns. W.E. 28'.-, Golf, tennis, bowls. Tel. 164. Geo. Dodd, proprietor.

HASLEMERE, Surrey.—Georgian Hotel. Bed., 26; Rec., 4. Pens., 5 gns.; W.E., 35/- to 47/6. Tennis, golf.

HERNE BAY-Miramar Hotel, Beltinger Bed., 27; Rec., 2. Pens., from 4 gns. W.E., fr. 45/-. Golf, bowls, tennis, bathing.

I LFRACOMBE, Devon.—Mount Hotel.
Pens., from 3 gns. to 5 gns. Overlooking
sea. All bedrooms with H. & C. Many
with private bathrooms. Tennis.

ROYAL CLARENCE Hotel, High Street. Bed., 60; Rec., 3. Pens., 4 gns. W.E., 13:6 per day. Tennis, golf, fishing, boating.

NVERARY.—Argyll Arms Hotel. Bed. 26. Pens., 6 gns. W.E., 18/- per day Lun., 3/6; Din., 6/-. Golf, fishing, tennis

KESWICK, English Lakes—The Keswick Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 5. Pens., 5 gns.; 6 gns. season. W.E., fr. 15/- per day. Golf, tennis, boating, bowls, fishing.

KIBWORTH.—The Rose and Crown, Kibworth, near Leicester. A.A., R.A.C., and B.F.S.S. appointed.

LANGOLLEN-Grapes Hotel, Stay here for Comfort, Fishing, golf, H. & C.

LANWRTYD WELLS, Central Wales.— Pens., winter £4 7/6; sum., £4 15/-, W.E., 30/-, Golf, own course. Fishing, tennis.

LOCH AWE, Argyll.—Loch Awe Hotel.
Phone: Dalmally 6, Bed., 70; Rec., 4.
Pens., 5 to 8 gns. acc. to season. Tennis,
golf, fishing, boating.

LONDON. — Barkston House Hotel, 1, Barkston Gardens, S.W.5. Tel.: Fro. 2259. Pens., 21 to 3 gns.

GORE Hotel, 189, Queen's Gate, S.W.7. Bed., 36; Rec., 2 and cocktail bar. Pens., from 34 gns. Tennis.

GUILDFORD HOUSE HOTEL, 56/7. Guildford Street, W.C.1.—T.: Terr. 5530. Rec., 1. Pens., £2 10/-. Bridge.

HOTEL STRATHCONA, 25 & 26, Lancaster Gate, W.2. Bed., 36; Rec., 5. Pens., 3; gns. to 4; gns. Table tennis.
SHAFTESBURY Hotel, Gt. St. Andrew Street, W.C.2. 2 mins. Leicester Sq. Tube. 250 Bedrooms, h. and c. water. Room, bath, breakfast, 7/6; double, 13/6.

THE PLAZA Hotel, St. Martin's Street, Leicester Square, W.C.2. Bed., 100. Pens., from 44 gns. W.E., £1 16/6. Lun., 3/6; Din., 4/6.

L OSSIEMOUTH, Morayshire. — Stotfield Hotel. Bed., 70; Rec., 3. Pens., 4 gns. to £6 16/6. W.E., 38/- to 45/-. Golf. fish-ing, bowling, tennis.

LYNMOUTH, N. Devon.—Bevan's Lyn Hotel. Bed., 48. Pens., from 4 to 6 gns. W.E., 26/-. Lun., 3/6 and 4/-: Din., 5/6. Golf, hunting, fishing, tennis, dancing.

MORTEHOE, N. Devon. — Chichester Arms Hotel. Bed., 6; Rec., 2. Pens., £2 10/. W.E., £1 7/-. Golf, bathing.

NEWCASTLE.ON.TYNE — Central-Ex-change Hotel, Grey Street. Bed., 70; Rec., 9. Pens., 24. W.E., 38/-. Golf, fashing, bathing.

OTTERBURN HALL Hotel.—Bed., 44; Rec., 3; Pens., from 5 gns. W.E., from 45/-, 5 hard courts. Golf on estate, fishing.

NEWTON STEWART, Wigtownshire.— Galloway Arms Hotel. Bed., 17; Rec., 5. Pens., £3 10/- to £4. Golf, fishing. bathing, bowling, tennis.

NITON, Nr. Ventor, I.O.W.—Niton Undercliff Hotel. Bed.. 17: Rec., 4: Pens., from 5 gns. W.E., from \$2 5/-. Golf, bathing, fishing, tennis.

OCKHAM, Surrey.—The Hautboy Hotel. Pens., 5 gns. W.E., £1 per day. Lun., 4/6; Tea, 1/9; Din., 6/-. Golf.

PADSTOW, Cornwall—Commercial Hotel. Good fishing, good golf, rocks. Tel.: "Cookson," Padstow.

PAIGNTON, DEVON.—Radcliffe Hotel, Marine Drive, Bed., 70; Rec., 3; Pens., from 4 gns., from 5 to 7 gns. during season. W.E., 15/- to 18/- per day. Golf, tennis.

PERTH, Scotland.—Station Hotel. Bed., 100; Rec., 4; Pens., from 4 gns.; W.E., from 24//-; Lun., 3/6; Tea, 1/6; Din., 6/-, Garden.

PETERBOROUGH. — Saracen's Head Hotel. Bed., 12; Rec., 2 Pens., 34 gns. W.E., 30':; Lun., 2'6; Din., 3'6. Tennis, fishing, boating, horse-riding.

PLYMOUTH, Devon. — Central Hotel. Bed., 40; Rec., 3; Pens., 4 to 5 gns. Golf, tennis, bowls, sea and river fishing.

PORTPATRICK, WIGTOWNSHIRE.— Portpatrick Hotel. Bed., 65 Pers., from £5 weekly. Golf, boating, bathing, tennis.

RICHMOND, Surrey. — Star & Garter Hotel.—England's historic, exquisite, romantic, social centre and Rendesvous.

Place. Bed., 22. Pens., £4 7/6, W.E., 35/-. Gelf, fishing, bowls, tennis, dancing.

R OSS-ON-WYE.—Chase Hotel. Bed., 28; Rec., 5. Pens., 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) gns.; W.E., 37/6; Lunch, 2/6; Dinner, 4/-. Golf, fishing.

SALISBURY, Wilts. — Cathedral Hotel. Up-to-date. H. & C. and radiators in bedrooms. Electric lift. Phone: 399.

SALOP. — Talbot Hotel, Cleobury Mortimer. Bed., 7; Rec., 1. Pens., 84/-. Lun., 3/- and 3/6. Golf, Forderminster .

SCARBOROUGH, Yorks.—Castle Hotel. Queen Street. Bed., 38. Pens., 23 12/6. W.E., 21/-. Golf, cricket, bowls, bathing.

THE RAVEN HALL Hotel, Ravenscar. Bed., 56; Rec., 5. Din., 6/- Golf, bowls. swimming, billiards, tennis, dancing.

SIDMOUTH.—Belmont Hotel, Sea Front.
Bed., 55; Rec., 3. Pens., 61 to 8 gns.
W.E., inclusive 3 days. Bathing, tennis,
golf.

OUTH Uist, Outer Hebrides.—Lochboisdale Hotel. Bed., 32; Rec., 7; Pens., 4 gns. Golf, 5 miles, free to hotel guests. Fishing, shooting, bathing, saling.

TOKE-ON-TRENT. — Victoria Hotel,
Victoria Square, Hanley, Bed., 16:
Rec., 1. Pens., 23 6/-, Lun., 2/-, Din.,
3/6, Sup., acc. to requirements. Dn.,
golf, tennis.

TOCKBRIDGE, HANTS. — Grosvenor Hotel. 'Phone: Stockbridge 9. Bed., 14; Rec., 1. Bed and breakfast, 8s. 6d., double, 14s. Golf, trout fishing.

TRANRAER, Wigtownshire. — Buck's Head Hotel, Hanover Street. Bed., 18: Pens., 43 10/-. W.E., 12/6 per day. Golf, tennis, fishing, swimming.

TEIGNMOUTH, Devon. — Beach Hotel, H.R.A. Promenade. Excellent position. Moderate inclusive terms. Write for tariff.

TEWKESBURY, Glos.—Royal Hop Pole Hotel, Bed., 45; Rec., 2. Pens. from 5 to 64 gns. Winter, 3 gns. Golf, fishing. boating, bowls, cricket, hockey.

TORQUAY.—The Grand Hotel, Bed., 200; Rec., 3. Tennis courts; golf, Stover G.C. (free). Hunting, squash court, minia-ture putting course.

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W.E., 30/-. Golf, 1 mile. Garden.

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### THE EMPIRE WEEK BY WEEK

#### West Australian Election

From an Australian Correspondent

IN an election without vital issues, the Labour Government of West Australia has retained power with a majority reduced from ten to two by the combined opposition of the Country and Nationalist parties.

The result leaves the complexion of Government in Australia fairly evenly divided.

There are Labour Governments in three States, non-Labour combinations in the other three, though in Victoria the Country party holds office with the perhaps unnatural blessing of Labour. The Nationalist-Country party coalition is firmly installed in the Federal administration. tration.

Mr. Philip Collier enters upon his fourth Premiership of West Australia

In his long and even career—he has sat for Boulder for 31 years—he has earned the respect of followers and opponents alike.

Politics in West Australia are mild and party divisions less acute than

There is the classic story of political amity in the Golden West of the police who raided an hotel bar "after hours" in the neighbourhood of Parliament House. They found the then Premier and the leader of the Opposition drinking together with lobby journalists.

The years that have elapsed since that incident have not brought to West Australia, in her political and economic isolation, the deeper political passions of the more industrialised States.

One of the first acts of Mr. Collier when he recovered power in 1933, was to appoint as Lieutenant-Governor his life-long political opponent, Sir James Mitchell.

He had defeated Sir James' Nationalist Government and his party had deprived him of his seat in Parliament. But the Labour Premier offered him the highest office it was in his power recommend.

As there has been no Governor of West Australia since Sir William Campion returned to England in 1931, Sir James Mitchell's post has been of more than the usual import-

The continuation of Mr. Collier's Ministry may not, in spite of party labels, be taken amiss in Federal Government quarters. Mr. Collier's Government quarters. Mr. Collier's long experience, his independence of mind, the moderation of his general policy and the fact that he is less ardent for secession than the alternative Government, make him highly esteemed by the leaders of the Nationalists in the East.

It is a curious fact that last week, as in 1933, the strongly pro-secession parties failed in the State election, though the simultaneous referendum of 1933 found the people voting for secession by an overwhelming majority.

West Australia has not followed the majority of the States in intro-

ducing compulsory voting.
She has, however, been ahead of them in attracting Parliament. women

In 1921, two years after Lady Astor came to the House of Commons, West Australia claimed the first woman to sit in any Australian Parliament. Last week's election has brought another woman to the opposite side of the House from Miss May Holman, who was unopposed for the desert constituency of Forrest.

West Australia is now the only State with two women members. None sits in the Federal Parliament.

#### Canada's Constitution

By G. Delap Stevenson

THE new Canadian Government can now feel that it is really getting under way, for it has met its first Parliament, which assembled on February 6th.

There was nothing very startling in the Speech from the Throne.

Most of the proposals have already been well canvassed and some are old hardy annuals of Canadian politics.

Unemployment, the textile industry, the administration of customs laws, the Bank of Canada, broad-casting and the Canadian National Railway are some of the things before the House.

More significant than Parliament, just at the moment, are the discussions which have been going on among certain Cauadian lawyers.

There has been a conference of

provincial Attorneys-General under the chairmanship of Mr. Lapointe, the Dominion Minister for Justice, to go into the legal aspects of the reform of the constitution, while the Supreme Court has been considering . Bennett's recent new deal legis-

When these two bodies announce their decisions Canadians will know how they stand. They will know just how far their constitution is adaptable to the new economic and social needs of the present time, and if it is unadaptable at what points it

It is unadaptable at what points it needs fundamental alteration.

The affair, however, is not just as simple as planning the overhaul of a piece of machinery.

Not only the Dominion-Provincial, but also the Dominion-Imperial

but also the Dominion-Imperial relationship is involved.

At the time the Statute of West-

minster was passed, Canada, by her own wish, arranged for the alteration

of her constitution to remain a matter for the Imperial Parliament.

Now some Canadians want to get rid of this as a check to their full independence, while others want to maintain it as an Imperial bond and also a safeguard to provincial independence.

Quebec is traditionally the province most jealous of provincial rights, but in the present discussion opposition to putting the constitu-tion entirely in Canadian hands seems to be coming chiefly from New Brunswick.

The New Brunswick Attorney-General refers to the province as "a Province of Great Britain" and is afraid lest it should lose its sovereignty and "become simply a territorial division of Canada."

The Maritime provinces are an old and very distinctive part of Canada, strongly British in sentiment.

Like Western Australia they have also their own economic interests and difficulties, which are not always in line with those of the rest of the Dominion.

constitutional The involves the which Imperial question, is, however, only one part of the legal discussions.

If the Supreme Court finds that Bennett's social and economic legislation can be legally applied to the provinces as things are, the immediate and practical need for altering the constitution will have disappeared, and it will remain purely a matter of sentiment and political theory.

In any case, of course, specified reforms could be carried out by asking the Imperial Parliament to take action, without at the same time asking it to rule itself out of Canadian affairs in the future.

#### Women to Map the Past

WOMEN are to uncover Southern Rhodesia's past. They are to help to map the Colony's ancient mines.

Professor Raymond A. Dart, of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, is convinced that Johannesburg, is convinced that Rhodesia is the centre of ancient mining activities and its study is fundamental for the later pre-history of Southern Africa.

He has prepared a memorandum on the investigations of ancient mining in Rhodesia. It calls for a systematic investigation of Southern Rhodesia and for a map of ancient mines.

Each Women's Institute, he suggests, should have a map to its district and record on it the situation of ancient mines and archæological objects of interest.

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#### A By-Product of Security

IT has been pointed out that the Australians who are to be trained in the British Foreign Office will make a useful addition to the personal contacts between this country and Australia.

There is even greater scope for the same thing, however, in the present expansion of the Air Force.

As soon as the expansion was announced there were hundreds of applications from the Dominions. If these men can be accepted in good numbers the personal link they will make between their own countries and England will be an extraordinarily valuable by-product of security.

This is quite apart from the obvious need for co-operation on the technical side.

The Empire, now so loosely associated, depends more and more for its unity on unofficial and individual contacts. There are in fact numerous societies and organisations which exist for the sole purpose of bringing these about.

Rhodes thought it worth while to leave the best part of his fortune to endow Overseas scholarships to Oxford, and the men who come from the Dominions to the Royal Air Force, like the Australians who come to the Foreign Office, might be compared with Rhodes scholars.

They are, like them, old enough to have developed their own national standards and characteristics, but are young enough to be impressionable. Most important of all, they come to England for a short time and then return home.

The Air Force is a service in which this is very easy to arrange. The system of short service commissions arises from its actual needs, and a proportion of Overseas officers can pass through with the rest.

In other Government departments,

In other Government departments, civil or military, or in private business, it is more difficult to take in temporary personnel, especially in any numbers

The Army and Navy go far back into English history, but the Air Force, like the Dominions themselves, is younger in fact than any of them except Southern Phodesia. The

It is younger in fact than any of them except Southern Rhodesia. The Dominions saw its earliest beginnings, and they were not mere spectators, but took a very important part in making the new force.

When it was struggling into existence during the war, Overseas men joined it in large numbers. Cutlack, writing in the Australian Official History of the War, says that "The percentage of Overseas men among the British pilots has never yet been authoritatively stated, but it was remarkably high," and he goes on to quote 50 per cent. as a figure suggested for the early part of the war.

Before the end of the war the Dominions had their own organisa-

tions within the British Air Force. There were four Australian squadrons which served in Egypt and France, while a half flight, the first completely Australian air unit, was in action in Mesopotamia as early as 1915.

In Canada there was a training school which turned out some 4,000 pilots and an aircraft factory, while two distinct Canadian squadrons had been formed in England by the end of the war.

There was a South African squadron which took part in the operations in East Africa. New Zealand, though well represented in the British Air Force, never formed separate squadrons of her own.

The connection between the Dominions and the Imperial Air Force did not end with the war. Some of the war pilots stayed on. The South African, Group Captain Sir Quintin Brand, who is now seconded for service with the Egyptian Government, made the first flight to the Cape after the war with another South African, Sir Pierre Van Ryneveld.

Air Vice-Marshal Maclean, now in command in the Middle East, is a New Zealander. Group Captain Collishaw, a Canadian, who was reently in command of the R.A.F. station at Upper Heyford, has the best fighting record of any officer still in the British Air Force.

Since the war there has also continued to be a good trickle of entrants from Overseas.

For some years Australia has been sending over small numbers of trained pilots to take up short service commissions. In Canada and New Zealand there has been a system by which candidates are recommended by the Dominion authorities before they apply to the Royal Air Force.

Now that there is to be expansion, negotiations are going on between the British and Dominion Governments to arrange for an increase of Overseas pilots.

It is proposed that Australia should extend her present system of training cadets so as to send over more than three times as many a year, and that Canada and New Zealand should adopt the Australian method. In addition, these two Dominions may arrange to pass candidates locally for the British service instead of the present nomination system. These schemes have also been proposed to South Africa, but it is not certain whether she will participate.

If the Governments concerned can seize it, the expansion is a wonderful opportunity to make the British Air Force really Imperial.

It is a material fact that aviation has brought the Empire as close together as the counties of pre-railway England.

If the new Air Force can be a centre of contacts and a common tradition, it will give sure and potent re-enforcement to the unity of spirit.

#### South Africa Goes All Empire

PLANS are now nearing completion for the first Empire Exhibition ever held outside Great Britain.

It will be opened on September 15th at Johannesburg, South Africa, and hundreds of British firms will exhibit. If trade is good enough, it may possibly lead to a better understanding between the Dominion and ourselves.

Anyhow, Lord Riverdale of Sheffield gave the project a good send-off a few days ago when, speaking under the auspices of the British Empire Club, he gave a few illuminating facts and figures about South Africa in general and Johannesburg in particular.

These can easily be classified, and as they may be of real interest to our readers who have not time to study the South African handbooks and Board of Trade figures, we give them as follows:

Between 1910 and 1935 the European population has increased in South Africa by over 50 per cent., and the native population by over 40 per cent.

To-day the Europeans number about 2,000,000 and the non-Europeans 6,500,000.

Great expansion in the fruit industry accounts for an increase in value of exports of fresh fruits from £15,000 per annum in pre-war years to £2,270,000 in 1924 (latest figures obtainable).

The factory output of South Africa, which in 1911 was only £17,250,000, had risen to £91,000,000 in 1933, when the last industrial census was taken. There has been a considerable increase since that date.

South Africa is passing through a period of great prosperity, based on the high currency value of gold. The South African Budget for the year ended March, 1985, showed a surplus of over £2,000,000. This year's budget will also show a surplus.

As an export market for United Kingdom goods South Africa is second only to British India and in 1934 took goods to the value of some £32,000,000. The imports into the Union for the first six months of 1935 showed an increase of £5,600,000, and of this total the United Kingdom supplied 49 per cent.

The population of Johannesburg is 400,000 and is steadily increasing.

Financial support and exhibits are being given by various towns in South Africa.

The Union of South Africa Government now finds that its various departments are so much interested in the exhibition that it has decided in addition to its original support, to spend £40,000 on the erection of a special South African Government building in the Cape Dutch style.

Over 70 per cent, of the total space in the Exhibition buildings originally laid out has been booked.

#### **FORGOTTEN** DEEDS OF THE EMPIRE

The Beginings of Natal By Professor A. P. Newton

WHEN, a century ago, the frontier Boers were trekking away from Cape Colony in search of new land far away from the unwelcome supervision of the British officials in Cape Town, some of them were only looking for the nearest good grazing grounds beyond the mountains, but others looked further afield.

They had heard that far away to the north-east there were great stretches of fertile land that were unwere great occupied because of the devastation caused by the raids of the warlike

Those lands lay beyond the eastern frontier of the colony, but it was impossible to reach them by that way because of the Kaffir tribes that lay between, who were in a constant state of unrest and even then were at war with the strong British forces who were defending the colony.

The coveted district seemed pecu-liarly attractive to the leaders of the trekkers because it led down sea and appeared to offer them a chance of securing a port for them-selves, so that they might come into relations with other Powers without the control of the British Government.

Port Natal, as the harbour had been called since its discovery by the Portuguese on Christmas Day, 1497, had in 1837 been the site of a small settlement of British traders for twelve years.

But the settlement had never been formally annexed by the British Government and the whole of its hinterland was still a no-man's-land without settled or organised rule.

The Colonial Office had repeatedly



The Drakensburg Mountains, which form the natural boundary of Natal.

been asked to annex the district, but

had consistently refused.

Two of the principal leaders of the Trekkers, Piet Retief and Pieter Maritz, knew of this refusal to annex Natal, and they were resolved to occupy the territory and found a new republic there.

At that time the United Laagers, as the Trekkers called themselves, numbered in all about three thousand persons, but Retief's decision was unwelcome to many of them, and the trek broke up into two or three parties.

One of them, under a leader named Potgieter, went away northwards over the High Veld into what is now the Transvaal, but the rest of them, under Retief, went along behind the Drakensberg Mountains until they came to the passes that led down Drakensberg Mountains until they came to the passes that led down led down through the ranges into Natal.

At the beginning of 1838 Retief rode down with a hundred men to persuade the Zulu king, Dingaan, to cede to him and his Afrikanders the coveted territory.

Dingaan pretended to do so, but he was treacherously biding his time, and when the unsuspecting Boers were safely lulled into confidence, he suddenly suddenly fell upon them and slaughtered Retief and the whole of party without mercy.

He despatched his impis to overwhelm the other scattered parties of Boers that had come down over the mountains.

In the face of these tragic happenings, the Cape Government had to take action.

Governor Napier sent a detachment of British troops to re-occupy the port, and the Zulus withdrew. But fighting still went on in the interior, and the Boers were generally getting the worst of it until a new leader, Andries Pretorius, came over from Cape Colony to take the command.

After much hard fighting and many

After much hard fighting and many losses, he finally overcame the main body of the Zulus at the battle of the Blood River on Sunday, 16th December, 1838.

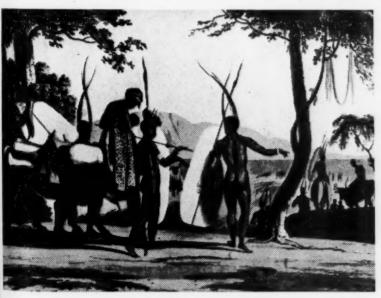
That deliverance was the turningpoint of the Trek, and every year it is still celebrated as "Dingaan's

The Boers could now establish their Republic in peace. Napier withdrew his troops from the port, but when the Boer leaders tried to get Holland and the United States of America to recognise them as an independent power, the British Government had

to intervene.

Natal has a harbour that lies on the flank of the Cape route to India, and we could not see it in unfriendly hands.

In 1848 Port Natal was occupied again by a British force, and the annexation of the territory was proclaimed.



Kaffirs on the march, South Africa, about time of English occupation.

### Stock Exchange and New Issues

#### By Our City Editor

FTER much deliberation, the Exchange Committee has come to the conclusion that " it is desirable that all issues, particularly those of ordinary capital, should be made by Prospectus or Offer for Sale unless from the public standpoint the necessity or advantage of a Private Placing is indicated by the circum-This pronouncement leaves the market in exactly the same state of darkness as before except that a hint is contained in the Committee's statement that Private Placings may be discouraged by refusal of permission to deal in cases where the Committee would have regarded a Prospectus offer as practicable. The whole question has arisen by reason of the "introduction" to the market of certain new shares through a small group of dealers. Before the public can participate in these new shares a big profit may have been made by this inside group and their friends, and the price of the shares be at a prohibitive level in consequence. Actually, there seems no reason why the public should be given the shares at a ground-floor price any more than there is any justification for a few dealers making an artificial market in them.

The Committee is, therefore, faced with an awkward problem. If such "introductions" are disallowed altogether, shares may be kept off the market and members denied a valuable source of income. If they are allowed, it is almost impossible to prevent some privileged group making a much larger "quick turn" than they should do.

#### "Permission to Deal"

The question of new issues and the Committee's various problems in granting permission to deal raises a far more important general principle, namely, that of investment control. Already there have been many advocates of an official "Investment Board," and it seems that the time has come for the City to control itself much more rigidly if unwanted control from Whitehall is to be avoided. So far, the Stock Exchange Committee has shown much reluctance to assume full control and so has passed on to the Government the responsibility for legislation in connection with the Fixed Trust movement—legislation which many in the City considered could have been avoided by Stock Exchange action.

The whole question of "permission to deal" is at the moment unsatisfactory, whether the issue concerned is made by Prospectus or Offer for Sale, or by "Private Placing." The public has every right to know when applying for an advertised issue of capital whether or not permission to deal in the shares has been granted, and the time is rapidly approaching when the Stock Exchange Committee must shoulder this responsibility or surrender the whole of its duties in connection with

new issues of capital to an official Board which would almost certainly prove a most undesirable state of affairs. There is no prima facie case for a refusal of permission to deal because an issue falls flat and underwriters are left with the stock or shares offered.

#### The Trosnyk Case

In the case of the Trosnyk Mining issue, an offer of shares in a company to develop gold mining properties in Yugoslavia, which was severely criticised in some quarters, the Committee took the step of postponing permission to deal in the shares. The issuing house made the unusual reply of returning all moneys subscribed and taking up the shares itself. Surely in this case it would have been far preferable for all parties if the issue had never appeared before the public until such requirements as seemed necessary to the Stock Exchange Committee could be met. This could have been accomplished without any publicity whatever. Further, there are a number of issues made where permission to deal is granted at once in respect of companies which do not appear to have reached the stage when an offer of capital to the public is justified. Much as the Stock Exchange Committee may dislike the idea, and one has much sympathy with them, someone must in the near future shoulder the burden of responsibility for new issue control, and one would rather see this in the hands of the City than of Whitehall.

#### Selfridge Profits

Selfridge & Co., the famous Oxford Street store, fully secured their share of last year's retail trade improvement, and net profits for 1935 amounted to £414,190, compared with £375,139 for the pre-Of this increase, about £10,000 is vious year. accounted for by the reduction in interest charges through the repayment of bank loans out of the proceeds of the 4 per cent. debenture stock issued last October. Otherwise the increase was achieved through the further excellent increase in turnover, the house employing a greater number than ever before with a record wages bill. dividend is increased from 5 per cent. to 10 per cent. on the ordinary shares, which are held by the Gordon Selfridge Trust. The Trust will thus be able to meet from revenue the full 6 per cent. dividend on the preference shares with a margin to strengthen the reserve position.

#### Refuge Assurance

The Refuge Assurance Company has again declared a rate of reversionary bonus on all withprofit policies in the ordinary branch existing at December 31 last of £1 18s. per cent. on the sum assured. This satisfactory rate is the same as that declared for 1934.

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#### THEATRE NOTES

"Out of the Dark"

Ambassadors Theatre

By Ingram d'Abbes.

COULD not help feeling that "Out of the Dark" might have been a very good play indeed. The restoration of sight to a successful author who has been blind from birth is as good a theme for a play as one could wish. Unfortunately Derek Huntley is disappointed with the world when he does eventually see it, and the first novel he writes when in the full possession of his five senses turns out to be a failure. The announcement of an addition to the family fills both him and his wife with fear lest they will not be able to give their child the advantages which in his more prosperous days they had planned for it.

So does a dramatic theme lose itself in a welter of depression, frustration and morbidity.

The feeling of damp misery was not alleviated by the fact that more than half the cast were inaudible. This reluctance on the part of actors to share with the audience the gems of wit and rhetoric with which the author has embellished his play is becoming more and more marked and more and more irritating. The first few moments of this play may have been spoken in Choctaw for all I know. Miss Gwen Ffrangcon Davies and Mr. Henry Oscar brought delicacy and sincerity to their task, and I liked the performances of Mr. Felix Aylmer and Mr. Eric Stanley.

#### "Various Heavens"

Gate Theatre

By Hugh Ross Williamson.

MR. HUGH ROSS WILLIAMSON is such a good writer that I am sure we shall one day see a first-class play from his pen. At present he is more concerned with airing a variety of views on an infinity of subjects than he is with constructing a well-knit piece of drama. True, his views are worth hearing and the subjects on which he expresses them are all of them interesting, some of them vital. The trouble is that his characters get inextricably mixed up with his ideas and obstinately refuse to retain any personality of their own. Thus Beatrice Musgrave represents artistic impulse and partially frustrated sex, with all their concomitant ideas, Father Bute represents religion and Francis Meldreth the World and probably the Flesh. Francis Meldreth is a sort of Wandering Greek Chorus with a good deal to say about everything.

Hedley Briggs was an excellent Strophe and Beatrix Lehmann invested the heroine with far more character than the author had actually allotted her. The most arresting performance came from John Cheatle, who portrayed a Roman Catholic priest with a dignity and a delicacy which I should have thought it beyond the powers of a layman to achieve.

#### "Private Company"

**Embassy Theatre** 

By Michael Egan.

T may be that I should have enjoyed "Private Company" had I not seen "The Dominant Sex." Not that Mr. Egan's new play is in any sense a sequel to or development from his other successful play, but the similarity in treatment and design invites comparison. The conflict this time is removed from the sphere of the home to that of business, and, whereas there is not so much outand-out bickering, Mr. Egan is once more chiefly preoccupied with antagonism of a sort. Miss Ena Burrill plays a difficult part well, and the author must take his share of the responsibility for the fact that she never seems quite to ring true. Mr. S. J. Warmington was more successful as Stephen Grant and there was an extremely pretty piece of acting—albeit all too brief—by Miss Margaret Webster.

#### "No Exit"

St. Martin's Theatre

By George Goodchild and Frank Witty.

HERE is a "thriller," not another "Ten Minute Alibi" it is true, but one which is well worked out and which keeps an excellent "surprise" for the very end of the play. The story concerns a bet which unfortunately ends in tragedy from which there would seem to be no way out for one of the participants. The authors are to be congratulated on their solution. Robert Douglas is excellent as the young journalist and Ronald Simpson makes an admirable friend who "plays up" in no half-hearted manner. Cyril Raymond's Detective-Sergeant Beeston is well worth seeing, as is also Edie Marin's characterisation of Bunty—a cockney but very lovable housekeeper.

C.S.

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#### CINEMA

#### Charlie Chaplin Again

#### BY MARK FORREST

CHARLIE CHAPLIN'S new picture has been eagerly awaited and the appetite of the public whetted by its postponement, but it has reached the Tivoli at last, where it should stay for many months, though it is by no means a fault-less production. In it, however, are one or two of the best things he has ever done and, taken as a whole, there is plenty at which to laugh.

The main defect in Modern Times that puts it as a picture below the standard set by The Gold Rush is the absence of a connected story. As the basis of the whole composition Charlie Chaplin has taken satire, but the arrows which he discharges at modern civilisation are shot at random into the air and, though, as the saying is, what goes up is bound to come down, there is no pattern on the ground when they reach firm earth again. Except for the exigencies of time and invention, there is no valid reason why this picture should ever come to an end and, there being no defined plot, one is alternately enthusiastic and not so enthusiastic; much in the same way as one's enjoyment waxes and wanes at a music hall performance. turns are excellent, some good and some not so good, the whole entertainment being loosely held together by the orchestra.

#### The Singing Waiter

The finest sequence in the film is Charlie Chaplin's appearance in a restaurant as a singing waiter. Mislaying the words of his song, his voice is heard mouthing words which are occasionally recognisable, but which may belong to any one of half a dozen languages. His miming here is brilliant, and the lady who sat behind me was undoubtedly right when she turned to her escort and said that after all Charlie Chaplin was quite a good comedian.

Another grand sequence occurs when, having discovered how comfortable gaol is and how cheerless the world, he sets about getting himself locked up again. There are other good things in it and more than a dash of slapstick, cunningly brought up to date, to remind cinemagoers of the old Charlie Chaplin, and he has added his customary seasoning of pathos, though this is not so forceful as usual.

Apart from his song there are no words spoken except those which come from mechanical devices, and the relief from dialogue was welcomed—at any rate by me.

ACADEMY CINEMA, Oxford St., Ger. 2981

RUDOLF FORSTER in the Great Austrian 'haute ecole' mystery drama

"HOHE SCHULE" (U)
& "EAST MEETS WEST" (U)

#### BROADCASTING

#### Where Our Money Goes

#### BY ALAN HOWLAND

SPRING looks like being early this year. There is no need to wait for the crocus or the daffydown-dilly for already we have seen the first signs. The B.B.C., not wishing to be forestalled by Mother Nature, has shyly popped up its head and told us in the most engaging way exactly what it did with its pocket-money last year.

For ten years this retiring body has been too self-conscious to tell us the foolish little ways in which it has spent that 10/- we gave them the previous Christmas for fear we should laugh, but something in the air has compelled it to come forward blushingly and confess that it is all gone, plus about 2/6 more. That the "something in the air" is not altogether unconnected with the imminent revision of the charter nobody but a very unkind Uncle would suggest, and I for my part look upon it as one of those delightful gestures one so frequently admires in the very young.

I am not, as a fact, so much concerned with the way in which my money has been spent, for, since I am in no sense a shareholder in the British Broadcasting Corporation, I have no right to demand a balance-sheet. I am, however, rather intrigued by the fact that the little fellow simply could not help telling me in a burst of juvenile enthusiasm that last year he received one hundred and fifty thousand letters, eighty per cent. of which were appreciative.

#### Misleading Mail

I had almost said "there's Glory for you" when I bethought me of my mathematics, long since forgotten. After I know not what laborious calculations I elicited the fact that, putting the total number of licence-holders at seven million, one person out of every 47 licence-holders (not listeners, be it remarked) wrote to the B.B.C. once a year on the subject of programmes. When one considers that (a) a large number of licence-holders write to the B.B.C. at least once a week, and that (b) it is admitted that at least two people-some put it as high as four-listen to each set, one cannot be accused of understatement if one places the percentage of correspondents to listeners at no higher than 1 per cent.

When I realised that the programmes to which I listen are framed according to the expressed wishes of this infinitesimal percentage and that, on the basis of correspondence alone, certain performances which to me have been beneath contempt have nevertheless been described by the B.B.C. as outstanding successes, I knew that Spring was here again with a hey and a nonny.

If your friends find difficulty in obtaining the "Saturday Review" from their newsagents, ask them to send a postcard to The Publisher, "Saturday Review," 18-20, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.2.